



















ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
OR,  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS  
RELATING TO  
ANTIQUITY.





ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
OR,  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

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# ARCHAEOLOGIA:

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## MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

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I.—*Some unpublished particulars respecting Henry Algernon Percy, the sixth Earl of Northumberland of that family: in a Letter from J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., Treasurer, to THOMAS AMYOT, Esq., F.R.S., Vice-President.*

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Read 13th April, 1848.

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MY DEAR SIR,

Kensington, 4th April, 1848.

SOME time since, among what are known as "the Shrewsbury Papers," preserved in the Library of Lambeth Palace, then in the care of that learned and acute antiquary, the Rev. S. R. Maitland, I met with a very singular letter, no where noticed, respecting an interview between Henry VIII. and the Countess Dowager of Northumberland. She was Mary the daughter of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who came to the title in 1473, and did not die until 1541: her husband had been Henry Algernon Percy, grandson of the Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who was killed by the populace in 1489, and son of Henry Algernon Percy, at whose instance, and under whose patronage, Skelton wrote the poem which comes second in the recent edition by the Rev. Alexander Dyce.

The discovery of this curious letter called to my mind a document relating to the husband of the Dowager Countess of Northumberland in my own hands, to which I shall advert presently, and led me to make inquiries in other quarters for any papers illustrative of the interview to which the letter among the Shrewsbury



papers refers ; and I am happy to say that I met with one, in the possession of a friend, in some respects even more remarkable than the first relic obtained at Lambeth. They all relate to the family and affairs of the Earl of Northumberland, who came to the title in 1527 and died in 1537, and regarding whose last illness at Hackney, a very interesting letter has been printed by Sir Henry Ellis in his third series of "Original Letters," vol. iii. p. 76.

As biographical particulars of this kind are somewhat out of the usual course of papers read at our weekly meetings, perhaps I ought to make some apology for introducing them on the present occasion. I shall not, however, do so, because I venture to think that such matter as I now offer, if it be followed up by other communications of the same character, will rather supply a deficiency in the volumes of our *Archæologia*, than be considered by the Fellows of the Antiquarian Society an obtrusion upon their attention. It is my very humble opinion that biographical and literary history has not, of late years, met in these rooms with the notice it deserves. Should the Society at all generally concur in this view, I shall hereafter make it my business, as far as time and circumstances will allow, to supply the deficiency, in the hope that other Fellows, whose portfolios may be better stored, will imitate my example.

Henry Algernon, the sixth Earl of Northumberland of the Percy family, succeeded his father, as has been already stated, in 1527, and I find from an original draft of a lease in my possession, that in the 25th of Henry VIII. he obtained from that monarch the sheriffwick, as it is called, of the county of Northumberland.

The deed thus commences :

"This Indentour, made at Grenewyche, the — day of December, in the xxvth yere of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lorde, Kyng Henry the VIIIth, by the Grace of God Kyng of Englonde and of Fraunce, Defendour of the Feith, and Lorde of Irelande, on the one partie, and his right dere and welbelovyd Cosyn, Henry Earle of Northumberland, on the other partie."

No consideration is recited, and it is merely stated that the King had "granted, devised, commised, and to ferm let" to the Earl of Northumberland "the shyreffwyke of Northumberland, otherwyse called the countie of Northumberland," with all the "rents, services, royalties, profits, commodities, casualties, and advantages" thereto belonging, for the term of seven years, at the annual rent of forty pounds ; on condition that the Earl should "duly, truly, and diligently serve and execute all manner of the King's process" during the said term. At the expiration of the seven years the Earl was to deliver into the Exchequer an account, on parchment, of all the "rents, dues, profits," &c. accruing from the office ; and, after having

done so, it was at his option to renew his lease for a further term of seven years, and so on, from seven years to seven years, as long as the Earl should live. The formal conclusion of the draft merely is, that the King should affix his great seal to the deed, and that the Earl should bind himself to the performance of the covenants by putting his seal to them.

I have noticed this document, which is contemporaneous, chiefly because I have not seen it any where mentioned. Bishop Percy, who drew up the account of the Earls and Dukes of Northumberland in the edition of "Collins's Peerage," by Sir Egerton Brydges,<sup>a</sup> is silent regarding any lease of the sheriffwick of the county; and it may be, that the deed, of which I have the draft, was never executed. It is certain, however, that the Earl, in whose favour it was prepared, did not live to enjoy the emoluments derived from the office even for the first seven years, as he died in 1537, and, as far as we can judge, in poverty. The priest, whose letter to the Lord Privy Seal Sir Henry Ellis publishes, says that he found the Earl *in extremis*, and he adds, "This three weeks he had no money, but by borrowing, as his servants declared to me."

In "Collins's Peerage" we are told (vol. ii. p. 313) that this Earl had obtained the appellation of "Henry the Unthrifty," from his extravagance and carelessness. He owed 6000 marks at the time he came to the title, but it is admitted that a part of this sum, and we are not informed how much, was composed of the debts of his father. It is added, that "when he found the attainder of his brother, Sir Thomas Percy, and his family unavoidable, in the last moments of his life he bequeathed all his estates to the King, probably by the wise forecast of some eminent lawyers, by whom he appears to have been directed, in order that the great family estates, being vested in the Crown, might be capable, at some future period, of being restored to his heirs; in which expectation he was not disappointed."

This brings me to the second document I have to introduce. The priest, Layton, who had apparently been sent to Hackney by Cromwell, in order to see the Earl in his last moments, says that he had read the dying man's will (in which Cromwell and the Bishop of Hereford were left executors, and the King supervisor), and he adds "which, me seemeth, is of small treasure." This Will, no doubt, (in the words of Bishop Percy) "bequeathed all his estates to the King;" but if it were made, as Percy also asserts, "in the last moments of his life," I am in a condition to shew that the Earl of Northumberland entertained the design, at all events, while he was residing at Topcliff, and before his removal to Hackney, where he expired on 29th

<sup>a</sup> Sir Henry Ellis informs me that he is in possession of the original proof-sheets, corrected in the handwriting of the Bishop.

June, 1537, as appears by the record in the Heralds' College, quoted by Sir Henry Ellis. The following letter has no date of the year, but it was written on 2d February, which could not be less than about six months before the demise of the Earl. It was addressed to Cromwell, and the body of it was written by some scribe, but the signature and the introductory words "Your own, ever assuredly bonden," are in the infirm autograph of the Earl. He opens his mind completely to the King's secretary, and mentions, as one of his motives for making Henry VIII. his heir, that he had no issue; and it is known that the only child his Countess bore him was dead at the time of its birth. Percy states that the Earl married "more in obedience to his father than from any affection for the lady." The letter is precisely in these terms, and I have, of course, observed the ancient and somewhat uncouth spelling.

"Maister Secretory, in my most hartye manner I comend me unto yowe, most hartly thankyng yow for all yowr kyndnes shewid unto me, for recompens wherof I am not able, but onely with my pore hart. of whych ye shalbe assuryd duryng my lyfe, as I am most bounden. And where that I am visit contynewally withe syknes, and that my wyff and I ar not lykkly to come to gether, and, as ye knowe, yt hath pleasid the Kynges highnes, more of his goodnes than of my desertes, to gyff me lycens (havyng non ysshewe of myn own body) to denomynate and make myne hayre whych of my blod I will (berying the name of Percy) of all suche landes as bee comprehendid in the indentures betwyxt his Magistie and me, perceyvyng the debyltery and unnaturalnes in those of my name, and for the grett and most gracios goodnes that I have allways fownd in his Magistie, and for the naturall love that I bere to his Grace (whyche I wolde he knew as well as God doth), beyng most unworthy of his blod, have determynyd fynally (as ye shall perceyve by the cotypes of my letters sent unto his Magistie at this tyme) to make his Grace myne heyr of all my landes afforesaid, I havyng non ysshewe of myne own body lawfully begotton. The occasion of the hast herof is only by reason of my contynewall sykknes, and that my wyff is a yong woman and lykkly to conteynewe, that if God shall call me shortly I myght be sewer his Grace shall prove my trew and stedfast hart; and herinclosyd do not onely send unto yow my letters unto his Magistie, but also carten articles and the copy of my said letters. Good master Secretory, as hyme to whom I accompt my selfe most bounden next my master, doth in this caws comyt all thynges to yow and yowr order, whether yt shall pleas yow to take the delyvery of my letters with declaration of myne articles yowr selfe, or ells to appoynt Sir Thomas Wharton to fulfyll the same. And thus, master Secretory, as in hym whom restith my cheif confydens, next the Kyng, I betake this, with all other my pore



affayres, to the order of yow, as our Lord knowithe, who have yow ever in his keepyng with long lyff. At my loge of Topcleff, the second day of February.

“Your own ever assuredly most bonden,

“H. NORTHUMBERLAND.”

The preceding letter establishes, at all events, that the intention of the Earl to leave the great mass of his property away from his family was of some months' standing. We may presume, from what has been already said, that he left his widow unprovided for: as she was the daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and as the Earl of Northumberland had no great affection for her, he might not think this a matter of much consequence. It is very clear, however, from his letter, that he was at the same time on bad terms with the other members of his family, for he speaks of “the dcbylytery” (whatever he may mean by the word) “and unnaturalness in those of my name:” hence the speculation in Collins, that the Earl made the King his heir in the expectation that the estates would be restored to his family, derives no support whatever from the letter above quoted.

The Countess of Northumberland, who was considerably younger than her husband, being thus left without any dowry, it seems that her father, the Earl of Shrewsbury, induced her to make an appeal to the generosity and liberality of the King, who had come into possession of all the great estates of the Percies. Accordingly she went to Court to present a petition, or bill, to his Majesty in person; and the letter preserved at Lambeth (MS. No. 695), and addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury by a person with the singular name of Swyfoe, narrates, no doubt mainly on the authority of the Countess, what had passed between her and Henry VIII. at the interview. The following are the terms in which he writes:—

“Plesythe your Lordshype to be advertissed that of Mondaye the xv<sup>th</sup> day of Maye, my Lady of Northumberland exibyted her byll unto the Kynges Maiestie at his Grace's comminge to Grenewyche, with the wordes ‘I beseche your Majestie be gud and gracious lorde unto me, beynge a poore wydowe and wyff to the late Erle of Northumberland, whyche hath not hade, nor yet hathe, anye lyffenge of suche landes as were my late husbandes: wherfor I beseche your Majestie, of your moste abundante gudnes, to tender this my humble sewyt conteynyed in my bill.’ Who herde her ladyshype verey gentyllye, and, after the said wordes spoken, his Grace bowed downe upon his staff unto her, and said, ‘Madame, howe can your ladyshype dessire any lyffynge of your husbandes landes, seyinge your father gaffe no money to your husbande in marage with your ladyshype; or what thynke yow that I should do herin?’—And she answered—‘What shall please your Grace.’—He

answered agane and said, 'Madame, I mervell gretly that my Lord your father, beyng so gret a wyse man as he was, wolde see no dyrectyon taken in this mater in his tyme: howbeyt, Madame, we wolle be contented to refer the mater unto our counsell.' After that his Grace loked behynde hyme, and sawe my Lord of Durhame and Sir Antonye Browne, and moved them to him with his hand, and spake with them softlye, that no man cowlde perceyve what his Grace said to them, a prety space, and delyverde the byll unto my Lord of Durhame; and in his Grace's retorne from theym, my lady besowght his Majestie to be gude and gracious lord unto her. His Maiestie answered, 'We wolle,'—and so departed; and further as yet ther is not proceded in this mater. \* \* \* And wher your Lordshyp hath wryten me to sende worde downe shortlye, whether it were requysyte that any shulde come up to wayt upon my Lady of Northumberland her besynes, I can not asserten your lordshyp nothyng therof, unto suche tyme as my Lord of Durham and Mr. Browne be spoken with, whyche shalbe, God wyllynge, of Frydaye, the xix<sup>th</sup> day of this present monthe."

The above, dated from "London on Ascension Day," gives a somewhat picturesque account of the manners of the King on the occasion; and we may perhaps conclude that, as the interview took place on the 15th of May, it was the 15th of May succeeding the death of the Earl of Northumberland in June 1537, and when his widow would still be in mourning for him.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

P.S. Since the above was written, Mr. F. Devon, of the Chapter House, has kindly furnished me with a copy of another letter from the Earl of Northumberland to Cromwell, written only a few weeks before his death, carrying into effect, even more completely, his Lordship's intention as to making the King his heir. It seems from the contents of it, that the Earl had, in the first instance, annexed certain conditions to his bequest, which he afterwards entirely withdrew, leaving his whole property at the uncontrolled disposal of Henry VIII; but adding a request that his Majesty would allow his servants to enjoy such annuities and leases, as he had granted to them for their faithful attendance upon him. The letter, on some accounts, is not so curious as that before inserted, but it shews how the Earl persevered in his intentions to the last, and it carries on the history of the transaction to within a very short period of the day when the Earl was visited by the priest Layton, who found him almost at the point of death.

“My verey good Lord, in most harty maner I commend me unto your good Lordeship, right so thanking the same for your manyfold kyndenes. Ande where before this tyme, of myn owen fre will, I have offered to the Kinges Majestie to surrendre and yeild up unto his highnes handes all my poore inheritaunce, uppon the performaunce of dyverse articles signyed with my hand, whiche of late I did send unto your Lordeship, and where also I have not so frankly and frely resigned the same unto his Majestie, as in this case to his humble subjecte apperteignyth, I thought good therfor moost hartly to desire your Lordeship to be mean unto his Majestie for me in that byhalf; further advertisyng your good Lordeship that I, relin quyssing all my said requestes conteigny d in the saide articles, doo and am content fynally to resigne and surrendre, yeild up, ande gyve unto his Majestie all myn estate, possibilitie, and interest of and in all my said inheritaunce, to be at his moost gracious pleasour and disposicion, moost humbly beseching his Majestie, as myn undoubted and hoope ys (*sic*), so to provide for me, that I may be able to doe unto his Grace some suche service as may be acceptable unto his highness, whiche allways I have most hartly desired: And that yt may pleas his Majestie to conside the service of my pore servants, that they may enjoy suche fees, annuities, and leases as I have yeven unto theme, in parte of recompence of the diligent service doon unto me. Trustynge ande so desiryng your lordeship to make relacion unto the King's Majestie of this myn humble submyssion, ande to further me at his highnes accordyng to your lordeshipes accustomable goodness allwayes borne toward me, and that it may pleas the same to gyve credence unto my right welbiloved frende Doctor Legh in thys behalf, and other his comp (*sic*). Ande thus the holy Trynytie preserve your good Lordeshipe, with as mooch increas of honour as your noble hart can desire.

“At the King's Highnes' maner of Hakney, the iij<sup>th</sup> day of June.

“Yours most bonden,

“H. NORTHUMBRELAND.”



II.—*Description of an Astrological Clock, belonging to the Society of Antiquaries of London: in a Letter to the President, from CAPTAIN W. H. SMYTH, R.N., K.S.F., D.C.L., Director.*

Read May 25th, 1848.

MY DEAR LORD MAHON,

On being elected to the honourable post of Director of the Society of Antiquaries, it became my duty to inspect the state and arrangement of its property; of which Mr. Albert Way, my worthy predecessor in that office, was then drawing up a detailed Catalogue. In the course of this occupation I could not but be greatly struck with the old Bohemian clock in our possession; and which appearing, on inquiry, to be the earliest one in pristine condition now remaining in England, I felt somewhat called upon to lodge a description of it in our archives. On mentioning this to your Lordship, it was gratifying to find that you were of the same opinion; I have therefore given this curious and unique machine a most careful scrutiny, and hope the account which I now have the honour to deliver may prove elucidatory, both of its construction and its history. Before, however, describing the clock itself, some preliminary matter, respecting various points of horological import, may conduce to a right understanding of the subject.

In the fifth volume of the *Archæologia*, there is a memoir by the Honourable Daines Barrington, read to the Society on the 17th of December, 1778, on the earliest introduction of clocks into Europe. This paper is carefully written, and its bearings were much approved of; while to the substantial value of the details a fair testimony is given in the constant quotations made from it, and by its having been wholly transcribed in the well-known *History of Inventions* by Professor Beckmann. Circumstantially, however, there are certain statements which must be received *cum grano salis*, or the reader may be misled, as was the case with Dr. Henry and others, who placed too implicit a reliance upon them. The most glaring error is the author's insisting on the authenticity of a watch purchased by George the Third, as having belonged to Robert Bruce, who died in 1328; a belief which obtained, because *Robertus B. Rex Scottorum* met the eye on the dial plate. But the pretensions of this specimen to such an age and honour have been completely disproved by Mr. Jamieson, of Forfar; to sport with whose credulity a wandering hawker, as he subsequently confessed, "had engraved the inscription upon it in a rough antiquated-like form."<sup>a</sup> But even were it not for this confession,

<sup>a</sup> See the full statement in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1785, pp. 687—689.

there is sufficient internal evidence to show that this watch cannot be older than the time of Charles the First ; and that its dial-plate is of a still later date.

Notwithstanding our actual business is to deal with clocks rather than with watches, it will not be foreign to the subject to add, that the latter were an earlier invention than is usually ascribed to them by those who look to the *Nuremberg Eggs* as the earliest attempts. Now, though the claim of that of Robert Bruce be inadmissible, there are some extraordinary specimens of old watches extant : and the choice collection of my friend Octavius Morgan, Esq. M.P. which he favours me by now exhibiting on our table, affords a decisive proof of their having been made at least one hundred years before Isaac Habrecht, the reputed inventor, was born. Sir Ashton Lever is said to have possessed one dated 1541 ; and among the earliest with which we are positively acquainted is that once belonging to Queen Mary of Scotland, which was described to this Society by Henry Wansey, Esq. F.S.A. on the 14th of November, 1822. That very remarkable time-keeper is in the strange shape of a death's head, with the arms of France and Scotland engraven on separate shields on each side of the skull's jaws. An inscription — EX DONO FR. R. FR. AD MARIAM. REG. SCOTORVM ET FR.—together with the date 1560, shows that King Francis II. of France, had presented it to his youthful bride full thirty-seven years before watches were supposed to be brought over from Germany to England ; and a strict comparison of it with a watch of the present day, would afford an interesting insight into the progress of a highly advanced and most useful art. Indeed this piece of mechanism, when well planned and properly executed, according to the due relations now ascertained, has so nearly reached perfection, that it must be regarded as a striking evidence of human ingenuity, containing within itself a treasury of inventions ; and it will add interest to the question to recollect, that a good three-quarter plate watch, as usually made, requires no fewer than 138 distinct several pieces in its frame, train, escapement, potence, fuzees, arbours, clicks, ratchets, and other curiously contrived and nicely adjusted constituents. To these appliances must be added the chain, which contains sixty-three links and forty-two rivets to every inch ; and, it being generally six inches in length, comprises 630 pieces, thus swelling the contents of a common detached lever watch to 768 separate parts, to construct which gives occupation to no fewer than thirty-eight or forty different kinds of artificers.

To return. Having asserted that the Antiquaries' Clock is perhaps the oldest in a good state now in England, it may be necessary to premise a few observations on the early clocks of this country, in order to substantiate the claim thus made, and also to fill up

some of the *lacunæ* in Mr. Barrington's memoir. In this course there will be no occasion to inquire after Plato's clepsydra, the machine of Archimedes, the clock of Posidonius, nor even the time-measuring instrument which Cæsar found in Britain; since the inquiry shall be mainly bounded by our own available records, upon English horology.

There has been, no doubt, much confusion in various accounts of this art, because the word *horologium* was used indiscriminately for sun-dials as well as clocks; which last were also designated nocturnal dials, to distinguish them from those which showed the hour by the solar shadow only. On the sixth leaf of a manuscript of the eleventh century, now in the British Museum (Cott. Tiberius C. vi.) a figure is neatly drawn, and named "*Horologium Solare*," in relation to its purpose. These and other terms, at first used to denote the approximate means, having since been unfortunately applied to the more exact contrivances for measuring time, involve the occasional allusions of the earliest writers in ambiguity. A well-known passage in Stowe has been quoted as proving that clocks were common in the early part of the seventh century: his words are—"This yeare, 606, dyed S. Gregory, surnamed The Great, being the third yeere of Focas, 59 Emperoure of the Romanes, and after him Sabinianus succeeded, being the 63 Pope: he commanded clocks and dials to be set up in churches to distinguish the houres of the day." Now, as King Alfred's imperfect method of knowing the night hours—by means of graduated wax tapers—was put in practice 180 years afterwards, if Asser can be trusted, there surely must be some erroneous inference from the word *clock* as used by Stowe.

On the whole it may be received, that these ingenious instruments were actually used in some of the European monasteries about the twelfth century; yet the evidence on which this assumption rests, goes far to show that it is probable Europe is not entitled to the honour of the invention; but that it is rather to be ascribed to the Saracens, a people to whom we are indebted for many of the choicest results of science and art. Dante, about the year 1300, mentions the striking clock as a very familiar image in *Il Paradiso*, with his "*orologio che ne chiami*," and its "*tin tin sonando*."

The earliest plausible English claim is, that in the year 1288 a stout stone clock-tower was erected opposite to Westminster Hall, out of a fine of 800 marks imposed upon Ralph de Hengham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench in the 16th of Edward the First. In this belfry-tower, which was still standing in 1715, was a clock which struck the great bell called Tom of Westminster, so as to be heard by the people in the courts of law. Besides which, Sir Henry Ellis has handed me a note, showing that, one of thirty pounds value was placed in Canterbury Cathedral nearly at the



same time: it is an extract from an account of expenses incurred by Henry the Prior, in the Cottonian MSS. (Galba E. iv. 14. fol. 103,) which has already been quoted by Dart. In this MS. "De nova opera in ecclesia et in curia tempore Henrici prioris," the event of its being put up is thus decidedly mentioned: "Anno 1292, novum orologium magnum in ecclesia, pretium xxx li.," a very costly price for the time.

But the boast of English horology in those days, was the famous engine constructed by Richard de Wallingford (*Wualingofordus*), Abbot of St. Alban's, in 1326, which showed the fixed stars and planets, *the ebbing and flowing of the sea*, the hours, and the minutes of the hours. "Ergo talem horologii fabricam magno labore, majore sumptu, arte verò maximâ compegit, qualem non habet tota, meâ opinione, Europa secundum," saith Leland, in whose time it appears to have been still going. This elaborate piece of mechanism "*quod dicitur Albion quasi totum per unum*" has been considered—like that sent from Harun-er-Rashid to Charlemagne—to have been a planetarium rather than a clock; yet it showed time, and was a work the merit of which has been fully recognised. Ferdinand Berthoud, himself a superior artist, thus quotes its eulogy—"Wallingford par un miracle de l'art, fit une horloge qui n'avait pas de pareille dans toute l'Europe, selon le témoignage de Gesner." Yet the same acute mechanician, though well aware of the properties of this very clock, by a *lapsus memoriæ* asserts that George Graham was the first contriver of a planetarium, 390 years afterwards—"Si je suis bien informé, il est le premier Anglais qui ait fait une machine pour représenter le mouvement de la lune autour de la terre, et de la terre avec la lune autour du soleil:" now this Copernican method of driving the mimic planets, instead of the exploded system which regarded the earth as a centre, might possibly have been new even so late as 1715; but assuredly such an admission cannot authorise his conclusion that to Graham we attribute "l'exécution du premier planétaire qui ait été construit en Angleterre." It will presently be seen that the early instruments had generally a double duty to do, being at once horologia and planetaria.

About Wallingford's time, clocks seem to have been in great request, but the mention made of them is extremely indistinct. In Rymer's *Fœdera* (Holmes's ed. vol. vi. page 590) "De Horologiorum Artificiis exercendis," mention is made of protection having been given by Edward the Third to three Dutch *orologiers*, John and William Uneman, and John Lietuyt, who were invited from Delft into England in the year 1368. The patent (42 Edward III. p. 1, m. 15,) relates to their safe conduct in this kingdom; and it defended them for a year against "*injuriâ, molestiam, violentiam, dampnum, aut gravamen.*" German artists, whether high or low, seem to have

been in general demand throughout Europe, as appears very distinctly in horological history. But success must have made them careless in their work, or Shakespeare would hardly have uttered this taunt :

" I seek a wife !

A woman, that is like a German clock,  
Still a repairing, ever out of frame,  
And never going aright."

We are not wanting, however, in various valuable relics of English manufacture. The oldest extant may be, perhaps, that which was made about A. D. 1340, by Peter Lightfoot, a monk of Glastonbury, for Adam de Sudbury his Abbot. The face of this machine was divided into 24 hours, in two divisions of 12 each, and it showed time, lunar and solar movements, and four knights on horseback tilting in rapid circumvolutions. After the dissolution of the abbey, it was removed from Glastonbury to the cathedral at Wells, and still remains in an old chapel of the north transept. But the works were so completely worn out, that about 1835 they were replaced by a new train, made by Messrs. Read and Thwaites, the long-established Clerkenwell firm. The curious original face, or dial-plate, and the antique equestrian figures, were carefully adapted to the new body, and are still in use.

There is also a curious bit of ancient work in the north tower of Exeter cathedral, rumoured to have been given by Bishop Courtenay about A. D. 1480 ; yet the patent rolls of the 11th of Edward the Second show that such a clock existed in this church as early as 1317 ; and in support of this there are also some notices in the Fabric Rolls, which must refer to this very one, especially an entry for 1376, "*circa cameram in boreali turre pro horologio quod vocatur CLOCK de novo construendam.*" The mechanism of this specimen is elaborate ; the earth is in the centre of the system, and round it the moon revolves in a month, changing her aspect according to her age. Beyond the moon another ball represents the sun ; and with a fleur-de-lis, as it daily revolves round the earth, points out the 24 hours, which are also in two divisions of 12 each. This early specimen has, unfortunately, been so often "done up" by botchers, that only enough remains to warrant the mention of it. But it should be stated that some additional works were added in 1760, to show the minutes into which the hours are divided, and they are painted on a circle over the ancient dial after a custom which had then become pretty general. Julien Le Roy, who in 1737 republished the "*Régle artificielle du Temps,*" which our countryman Henry Sully had printed in 1717, says, "*Il est aussi rare en France d'y voir de grosses horloges marquer les minutes qu'il est commun en Angleterre.*"

Among the earliest of the horologia proper alluded to in England, is that which was furnished to St. Mary's Church at Oxford, in 1523, out of fines, it is asserted, imposed on the negligent students of the university; though of its initial and final fate I have, after considerable inquiry on the spot, been unable to find any record. But a slight advance towards my object was made by the kindness of Dr. Bliss, Keeper of the Archives of Oxford, who aided me by a search into the registers under his charge. Among the Vice-Chancellor's accounts, from 1550 to 1554, he finds the sum of £1 14s. paid to Thomas Masey "for mendinge of St. Maryes clocke, 25 Junii, travellinge (*travailing*) by the space of two weekes thereon," and there was moreover paid the sum of ten pence for a lock to the said machine. That these charges were large at the period, and indicated that the clock was in serious want of repair, is confirmed by the statement among the accompanying entries that the fine gloves given to the Bishop of Worcester were only two shillings and two pence; "wyne" to the doctors of Cambridge, two shillings; wyne and marmalade at the great disputations, ten pence. The nature of these disputations will be understood on seeing, on the same page, the revolting charge of two pounds for engrossing the sentence of burning the "heretiques" Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. Still no light was thrown on the origin of St. Mary's clock, although there is evidence to prove that it was kept up at the university cost, and that, from an earlier period than has usually been assigned. Among the large parchment rolls which Dr. Bliss showed me in the tower of the schools, where the archives are kept, he has found the following items in the proctor's accounts:

|       |  |   |   |   |   |                           |
|-------|--|---|---|---|---|---------------------------|
| 1469. | Pro custodia horilegii                       | . | . | . | . | iijs.                     |
| 1472. | Pro reparatione horilogij                    | . | . | . | . | vjs. viij <sup>d</sup> .  |
| —     | Clerico Vniversitatis pro custodia horilogij | . | . | . | . | iijs.                     |
| 1473. | Pro custodia horilogij                       | . | . | . | . | iijs.                     |
| 1474. | Pro custodia horilegij                       | . | . | . | . | iijs.                     |
| 1475. | Pro custodia horilogij                       | . | . | . | . | iijs.                     |
| 1478. | Pro reparatione horilogij                    | . | . | . | . | iijs. viij <sup>d</sup> . |
| —     | Clerico pro custodia horilogij               | . | . | . | . | iijs.                     |

My next inquiry was directed to the celebrated Hampton Court clock, so correctly described by Dr. Derham, in his "Artificial Clockmaker," in whose time, however, it seems the body of the original was no longer in existence; that is, in the year 1711. In order to obtain accurate information upon this point, I applied to Benjamin Lewis Vulliamy, Esq. of Pall Mall, as one well acquainted with those ornaments of our palaces, and from him received the whole which probably can now be learnt respecting that interesting relic. "It is, perhaps, not generally known," observes he, in



reply to my question, "that all which remains of the Hampton Court clock is the dial and work connected with it facing the east, in the second court of the original building erected by Wolsey. Of the body there is not any record that I am aware of, but that the work which still remains was put in motion by a train of some description there cannot be a doubt. The original maker is unknown; but the portion now remaining bears the initials N. O. and the date 1540. The style of the work is very similar to that of the old clock of the cathedral of Christ Church, Oxford, which, having become quite useless, I removed it in 1838, and put up a new clock in its place; on this occasion, by order of the dean, the old one was cleaned, and is carefully preserved in the tower, where it is very easy of access, and well deserving the attention of the antiquary."

In consequence of Mr. Vulliamy's letter, I went to Oxford, where, in company with my friend M. I. Johnson, the excellent Radcliffe astronomer, and Mr. Rowell, an intelligent clockmaker, I ascended the tower of Christ Church Cathedral, and inspected this specimen of ancient art. It has certainly a very curious train, although there is neither the maker's name nor date; yet from the second and scape wheels being made of brass, from the form of the engraved numerals, and from the driving regulation being by a pendulum, I cannot but consider it to have been made about the time that Huyghens's isochronal discovery was made public, and therefore at a later period than it has been usually considered. The quarter, striking, and going great wheels are, as in all the first clocks, made of iron; the earliest brass ones we know of, exclusive of these in question, belong to the old clock at Windsor Castle, made by Joseph Knight, A.D. 1677.

The sage N. O. of Hampton Court would appear to be as safe under his siglæ as the P. P. of Swift's parish; but, fortunately, a clue to the contriver of some of these early works has been furnished me by Sir Henry Ellis. In the third series of his "Original Letters," Cuthbert Tunstall writes to Cardinal Wolsey from Lucca, in 1520, in these terms: "Please it your grace to understand that here, in these parts, I met with a servant of the King's called Nicholas Cratzer, an Allmagne, *deviser of the king's horologies*, which showed me howe the king had liscensed hym to be absent for a season, and that he was ready to go into England." And from an appended note, it seems that Cratzer was a Bavarian, born at Munich, and educated in the universities of Cologne and Wyttenberg, till he became a Bachelor of Arts. Coming afterwards into England, and to the knowledge of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, he was made by him a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he was admitted on the 4th of July, 1517. About the same time he read astronomy in that university by command of Henry the Eighth, and wrote several works, of

which two, "Canones Horopti," and "De Compositione Horologiorum," are still preserved in manuscript in Corpus Christi College Library.

From a letter preserved in the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum, it seems that Cratzer and Hans Holbein were *arcades ambo*; and my friend Colonel Batty, late of the Grenadier Guards, has entrusted me with the curious compound solar-dial now on our table, the form and taste of which yields a presumptive assurance of its having been the joint production of those able men; for, while Cratzer was the practical mathematician, Holbein was not only a surpassing painter, but also excellent in modelling, designing, and carving on wood. The ingeniously contrived object before us is cut with no fewer than 30 accurate faces, with morning, noon, and evening hour-lines; exhibiting, in the numerous gnomonic shadows worked by the rays of the sun, a triumph of the art anciently termed photo-sciatherica, as well as a mastery over the spherical elements and principles of dialling. It consists of an octagonal-sided block of wood about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, on a pedestal; and is furnished with a plumb-line apparatus for placing it in a truly vertical position, and a small compass-box to set it in the meridian by. A portion of it bears the names and symbols of the zodiacal signs, and the date 1544 is repeated on several planes. The angle of the gnomons being as nearly as possible  $52^{\circ}$ , it was evidently constructed for the vicinity of London; and the difference of half a degree would hardly be appreciable on such miniature facets. Cratzer's features were better than his name, and we know of at least two portraits of him by his friend; of these the best is one of the most valuable pictures in the Louvre Gallery, which has been engraved by Duquevauviller in that fine work "*Le Musée Royal*."<sup>a</sup> Here "Master Nicholas" is represented in a contemplative attitude, with a pair of compasses in his right hand, a curious dial in his left, and various clockmaker's tools around; and under a chamfered scale lies a paper inscribed, "Imago ad vivum effigiem expressa Nicolai Kradzer, 1528." Mons. Henri Laurent describes the countenance in these terms: "Ce n'est point ici la finesse et la douce malice de la physionomie d'Erasme, mais les traits un peu grossiers, la physionomie lourde et immobile d'un homme enfoncé dans des calculs d'où il ne paroît pas être sorti par son génie." Cratzer was born in 1487, resided 30 years in England without mastering the language, and was still living in the year 1550 (4th Edward VI.) After his death many of his books and papers fell into the possession of the well-known astrologer Dr. Dee. That Holbein also had an eye to horology, I am enabled, by the kindness of Mr. Henry Graves of Pall Mall, to give a striking proof, in the drawing of an elegant plan for a time-meter

<sup>a</sup> Colonel Batty forwarded me a tolerable reduction of this excellent print, with the same engraver's name. Cratzer is enrolled by Bishop Tanner, *voce* Krach, in the *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*.

now exhibited in this room. This was designed by Holbein for Sir Anthony Denny, as a new-year's gift to Henry the Eighth, and it was purchased by Horace Walpole at Mons. Mariette's sale: it has on its summit a clock driven by wheel-work, below which are 'fore and after noon dials shewing time by shadows, and beneath them is a clepsydra indicating, by means of a fluid, the quarters of an hour.

These particulars are important to the story of the Hampton Court clock, and also to the Oxford one, since it would inferentially appear that whether Mr. N. O. whoever he might be, were the workman or not, Cratzer was actually the "deviser:" and it is not at all improbable that the uncial and rude characters in question, may have been in reality laid down for N. C.

But the *deviser* here named must not be confounded with the *custos* or *setter* of those days. The patent (1 Hen. V. p. 2, m. 7) states "Henricus Berton valectus cameræ Regis, custos horologii Regis infra Palatium Westm. pro vita cum feod. vi. den. per diem." Cratzer, from being both Astronomer-Royal and Royal Clockmaker, was more opulently remunerated, as may be seen by a communication kindly made to me by Sir Henry Ellis. "I find from a Book of Payments by the Treasurer of the Household, from Candlemas-day, 29th Henry VIII., to Midsummer, 33 Henry VIII., in our Arundel Manuscripts (No. 97), that among the discharges in March of the former year, *Nicholas Crazer, Astronomer*, received five pounds as his quarter's wages." The *custos* and *setter* were formerly esteemed a part of the clock establishment; and Shakespeare, who allowed nothing to slip by him, makes Fauconbridge tell King John that Old Time is a clock-setter. An excerpt from a manuscript treatise on morals in Lincoln cathedral shows that the office could be held by a female—"Gelosye salke kepe the orloge, and salke wakkyne the other ladyse, and make them arely to ryse;" a passage which shows the orloge-keeping was a responsible situation, and apparently it was not slightly given. Nor do my views for the necessity of such an appointment altogether quadrate with those of the "Guide to Knowledge" men, who have pronounced rather dogmatically, that it is an evidence that the machines which required such attendance were at best mere toys. We can readily imagine that such works were at first rather rude, but it does not at all follow that they were therefore worthless; and the practice of employing a *setter* is not so widely different from the present method of looking after the hands, as those who never visit clock-lofts may suppose.

From various causes, the early history of time-meting is involved in such dense obscurity that it is now useless to search for any individual as the prime inventor, although several names are proposed. Indeed, on this point, all must coincide in Ferdinand Berthoud's conclusion, that a clock—such as that which Henry de Wyck made for



Charles the Wise, King of France, about the year 1364—is not the invention of one man, but an assemblage of successive inventions, each of them perhaps made by a different person, and probably all at very different periods. Thus the diligent Panciroli, in his work “*Vetera deperditarum et Nova Reperta*,” speaks of clocks, but advances nothing as to the inventor, or the time of the invention; so that, as no actual facts can possibly be gleaned, conjectures and inferences must be called in aid. It is reasonable to assume, that the wants of civilized society would very soon demand some tangible means of measuring and subdividing time more correctly than by the motions of projected shadows over equal spaces; and that gnomons, dials, clepsydræ, sand-glasses, and other approximative contrivances, would be successively in requisition. As science and observation advanced and improved, the defects of such inefficient means would become more and more apparent, the powers of a driven train of well-cut wheel-work would become evident, and the several modifications which were from time to time suggested would soon bring the measure of a day to within a handful of minutes. But it was the admirable yet simple employment of the natural force of gravity as to the fall of bodies in free space, that led the way to the extreme accuracy and constancy of rate which clocks have obtained in modern times: and the conclusions to which Mons. Berthoud arrived respecting the progression of the essential improvements, may be thus instanced:—

- I. Toothed wheel-work was known in ancient times, and particularly to Archimedes, whose instrument was provided with a maintaining power, but had no regulator or controlling mechanism.
- II. The weight applied as a maintainer had at first a fly, most likely similar to that of a kitchen-jack.
- III. The ratchet wheel and click, for winding up the weight without detaching the teeth of the great wheel.
- IV. The regulation of the fly depending on the state of the air, it was abandoned, and the balance substituted.
- V. An escapement next became indispensable, as constituting, with the balance, a more regular check than a fly upon the tendency which a falling weight has to accelerate its velocity.
- VI. The application of a dial plate and hand, to indicate the hours, was a consequence of the regularity introduced into the going part.
- VII. The striking portion, to proclaim at a distance, without the aid of a watcher, the hour that was indicated: and this was followed by the alarum.
- VIII. The reduction and accommodation of all this bulky machinery, to a portable and compact size.

After the statements thus gleaned, it cannot but be considered as somewhat surprising that Mr. Barrington should declare that he had been unable “to stumble upon any passage which alludes to a clock, by that name, earlier than the thirteenth of Henry VIII. ;” though he had not overlooked a passage in Chaucer’s

"Nonnes Preestes Tale," which says, as he interpreted it, that the cock-crowing was as certain as a bell, or abbey-clock. Now it would seem that the Old Poet is in a higher strain; and that his simile compares the compass and music of the cock's clarion to the organ, and the regularity of it, to a church *clock*, or *orloge*, the latter having been intruded (*more poetarum*) merely to hammer out and tag the line—

" She had a cok hight Chaunticlere,  
In al the land of crowing n'as his pere.  
His vois was merier than the merie organ,  
Wel sikerer (*surer*) was his crowing in his loge (*coop*)  
Than is a CLOK, or any abbey orloge."

Moreover, as is indicated in this paper, there are various clocks named in early story: but that writer is assuredly mistaken who thinks he has found poetical mention of one before Chaucer, by Langeland, in Pierce Ploughman's Vision. Mede, in establishing the sort of *égalité* for which the reformers of the fourteenth century clamoured, in allusion to the learned clerks who *hobbled*<sup>a</sup> behind, says:—

" Shal no lewdenesse lette  
The bode that I lovye,  
That he ne worth first avaunced;  
For I am bi-knownen,  
Ther konnynge clerkes  
Shall *clockke* bi-hynde."

From what I have advanced, it will be seen that, though some old English clocks are still valuable in an antiquarian point of view, yet they have been so tampered with as to leave many of their parts in very questionable condition. Not so, however, with the portable one belonging to this Society, which was unquestionably completed in the year 1525, and differs most essentially from all those which I have cited, inasmuch as it still remains substantially, if not wholly, in its original state. The elegance of its construction, its convenient dimensions, and the armorial bearings with which it is decorated, prove that it was made for no common occasion. And here another word or two may be necessary, in illustration of its size.

The time when horologia were rendered portable cannot be precisely determined, though such are traceable in the very commencement of the fourteenth century. No doubt the substitution of a main spring as a motive power, instead of a bulky falling weight as a first mover, must have been adopted before a portable

<sup>a</sup> The verb *clockke* means to limp, or go on lamely. It has been quoted more than once in horological reminiscences by mistake.



timepiece could be made ; that improvement therefore constituted a grand era in horology. In the “*Roman de la Rose*,” when speaking of Pygmalion and his Statue, there is an unequivocal mention of hall and chamber striking clocks, “ringing again” and driven by wheel-work, before the year 1305 :

“ Et refet soner ses orloges  
Par ses sales et par ses loges,  
A roes trop sotivement  
De pardurable mouvement.”

Such an exact notice as this ought to have been deemed fair evidence ; yet Mons. Berthoud, in his “*Histoire de la Mesure du Temps*,” supposes that portable clocks could only have been invented a little before 1544, because in that year the corporation of master-clockmakers at Paris had a statute enacted in their favour by Francis the First, to the purpose that no one should make instruments large or small for measuring time, unless he had been admitted a master. This very statute, however, instead of substantiating their origin, only affords testimony that they were so well known about the middle of the sixteenth century that a stringent enactment<sup>a</sup> was necessary to protect the Parisian brotherhood. And, without referring to poets, we can bring very decisive evidence, in addition to that of the Society’s clock, to show how untenable the opinion of M. Berthoud is. In a very interesting letter written by Sir John Paston, in the spring of 1469, he says : “ I praye you speke w<sup>t</sup> Harcourt off the Abbeye ffor a lytell klokke whyche I sent him by James Gressham to amend, and y<sup>t</sup> ye woll get it off hym an it be redy, and sende it me, and as ffor mony for his labor, he hathe another klok off myn whyche Sr Thom’s Lyndes, God have hys sowle, gave me. He maye kepe that tyll I paye him. This klok is my Lordys Archebysshopis, but late not him wote off it.” An additional proof in the argument is furnished by the celebrated Strawberry Hill relic, recently purchased for Queen Victoria for £110 5s., and now at Windsor : it is thus described by Horace Walpole—“ A clock of silver gilt [*it proves to be brass*], richly chased, engraved, and ornamented with fleurs-de-lys, little heads, &c. On the top sits a lion holding the arms of England, which are also on the sides. This was a present from King Henry the Eighth to Anne Boleyn ; and since, from Lady Elizabeth Germaine to Mr. Walpole. On the weights are the initial letters of Henry and Anne within true lover’s knots ; at the top ‘*Diu et mon*

<sup>a</sup> The words of the statute run : “ Nuls, de quelques état qu’ils soient, s’ils ne sont pas reçus maîtres, ne pourront faire ni faire faire horloges, réveille-matins, montres, grosses ni menues, ni autre ouvrage du dit métier d’horloger, dedans la dite ville, cité, et banlieue de Paris, sur peine de confiscation des dits ouvrages, et d’amende arbitraire.”



Droit ;' at the bottom 'The most happye.' One of the weights, agreeably to the indelicacy of that monarch's gallantry, is in a shape very conformable to the last motto."<sup>a</sup> Now this specimen *must* have been presented between the years 1532 and 1536, and it was therefore made *before* the edict of Francis the First and *after* the Antiquaries' clock, to which we will now return.

At a meeting of this Society, holden on the 19th of May, 1808, it was announced from the Chair that "the late Mr. Henry Peckitt, of Compton Street, Soho, having made a bequest to the Society of Antiquaries of an old clock, it was sent by his executrix," with the following extract from his will :—

'The old clock, made by Jacob Zech at Prague in 1525, must be presented to the Antiquarian Society, along with the key that is in a parcel in a paper upon one of the desk-shelves ; and the paper cover, in the inside of which is a descriptive explanation of what I know in relation to it, with the Bohemian verses upon the barrel.'

The late Mr. Carlisle assured me that this present was received with much gratification ; and that our distinguished astronomer, the elder Herschel, after a close examination, gave a high opinion of its value. On referring to the original minutes of that evening, I find it recorded that Dr. Herschel was then introduced as a visitor by Sir Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society. The "paper cover" mentioned in the bequest, appears to have been more than once copied, since the substance of it has oozed out in several publications : but as the exact words have never been given, it may be as well to submit them here :—

"This Horologium was made a present of to James Ferguson, (who gave Lectures in London, and was the author of *Astronomical and Mechanical pieces*) by a gentleman, and when Ferguson died, and his things were sold, I purchased it about the year 1777.

Henricus Peckett, ex agro boreali Eboracensis natus.

I have not seen nor heard of any older in England. Derham, in his "Artificial Clock-maker," makes mention of one at Hampton Court Palace ; but this was made, as appears by the date, some years before that. When the balance is properly adjusted, it will go tolerably well for thirty hours ; then it loses time very much. It had formerly, as supposed, a cat-gut for the barrel instead of a chain, which chain has grazed the swivel or fusee, which Mr. Comyns tells me is the reason of its losing time when almost down. We suppose that the upper circle is a more modern addition to the clock. The inscription upon the barrel of the clock is in old Bohemian verse, as—

I A R D A M A H C H T M I C H I A C O B Z E C H  
Z V P R A G I S T B A R D A M A N Z A L T 1 5 2 5

which reads thus—

YEAR WHEN MADE ME IACOB ZECH  
AT PRAGVE IS TRUE WHEN COVNTED 1525.

<sup>a</sup> The weight thus flippantly sneered at by Walpole, had really nothing objectionable. Mr. Vulliamy, in whose possession it was for some time, thinks that the report must have originated in a prurient imagination.

The same in prose—

The true year that Jacob Zech made me at Prague is when we (or one) count 1525.  
Jacobus Zech me fecit in Prague urbe, Anno Domini 1525."

Such is Mr. Peckitt's description of the legacy which he bequeathed to the Society ; but I hope it will not be deemed looking a gift-horse in the mouth, by at once saying that his account is somewhat unsatisfactory, after the announcement that a "descriptive explanation" would be made. Nor can either of his translations be deemed a faithful transfusion of the German legend, which he terms *Old Bohemian verse*. The characters of this inscription are engraved in a single line, placed round the verge of the flat top of the barrel which shuts up the spring ; having a small cross between each word, and a large star after BAR, as a conclusion. There can therefore be no reasonable doubt but that it should be read thus—**DAMAN × ZALT × I × 5 × 2 × 5 × IAR × DA × MAHCHT × MICH × IACOB × ZECH × ZV × PRAC × IST × BAR \***. Now this is rendered most simply by saying—"When we counted 1525 years, then made me Jacob Zech (or rather, Jacob the Bohemian) at Prague;" it is true." With respect to the advanced poetic claims of this trite memorial, the words might certainly be thrown into a hobbling verse by dividing them into two ten-syllable lines, ending with IAR and BAR; but the process is unnecessary. Mr. Peckitt also mentions that Comyns—most probably Alexander Cumming the celebrated clock-maker—coincided with him in thinking that the uppermost circle of this *chef-d'œuvre* is a modern addition. Now such an opinion can only apply to the upper rim on which the hours are marked, for the "uppermost circle" assuredly comprehends the face or dial, every part of which—plan and execution—bears absolute evidence of contemporaneous construction with the interior machinery. The sole basis for the above remark appears to be that the hour-circle is marked with well-cut Roman numerals, while all the accessories bear the Arabian digits : but such was the usual custom, as is shown by the dials of the Glastonbury, Exeter, and other early clocks : the Roman majuscule characters having been used to express integer numbers, long after the adoption of Arabian figures had become general for other purposes. The chain certainly was a modern addition, and being anomalous, as well as injurious to the soft metal of the fuzee, I have removed it.

<sup>a</sup> This phraseology was common on dials, bells, and clocks. Indeed on a dial still remaining on the more than once rebuilt church of Edstone in Yorkshire, and first put up by Gamal—the antagonist of Earl Tosti—about 1060, we have a very early and indisputable instance in point. Over this relie appears the word ORLOGIATORY, and on the west side of the hour lines stands LODAN ME PROHTE (*Lothan made me*). On the adjacent church of Kirkdale, built by the son of Gamal, is another "sun-marker" with HAPARD ME PROHTE (*Haward made me*).



My own opinion, after due consideration, is that the whole machine—box, dial, hand, zodiac, train, bell, ornaments, and armorial bearings—is just as it issued from Jacob's hands (see Plate I.) ; and consequently, as a most valuable specimen of its era, merits a detailed description.

The body is inclosed in a circular case, or box, of gilt brass, measuring  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter by 5 inches in height. Both the design and workmanship of this case are in excellent taste, and the bold foliated decoration around its sides is finely finished. The arabesque portion is divided by three shields: of these the first, bearing an eagle displayed and crowned, surmounted by a royal crown, shows POLAND; the second, bearing a serpent entwined and wavy pale, crowned, a child issuant from its mouth, and surmounted by a ducal crown, typifies the House of VISCONTI; and the third shield displays the arms of LITHUANIA, a knight armed cap-à-pié, and mounted on a horse proper, holding in his dexter hand a drawn sword, and having pendant from his neck a shield charged with the Hungarian cross. Such are the bearings on the periphery of the clock-case; and in the centre of the dial-plate is an escutcheon with the arms of Poland on the dexter side, impaled with those of Visconti on the sinister. The whole are clearly and boldly represented; but they are without the discriminating lines for blazonry, having been engraven long before that method of "trick" was invented.<sup>a</sup>

These bearings, together with the date, supply us with an inferential conclusion, so powerful as to be tantamount to conviction, that this clock was actually the property of Sigismund the First, King of Poland, surnamed the Great, and that he presented the handsome gift to Bona Sforza, to whom he was married in 1518, after a custom which was then prevalent, as we have just seen in the instances of King Francis to Queen Mary, and Henry the Eighth to Anne Boleyn. This lady was named after her grandmother, Bona of Savoy; and she was the daughter of Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza Visconti, Duke of Milan. Giovanni was the son of Francesco Alessandro Sforza, the first reigning duke of that powerful family, by Bianca Maria his wife, who though the illegitimate daughter was constituted heir of the unfortunate Felippo Maria, the last duke of the house of Visconti. These particulars are mentioned here in order to show the high precedence and consideration in which Bona stood; and we fortunately can produce further evidence in testimony of Sigismund's gallant attentions to his young wife, in a choice missal which was exe-

<sup>a</sup> The blazon is—POLAND, *Gules*, an Eagle displayed *argent*, crowned, beaked, and legged *or*; LITHUANIA, *Gules*, a knight armed cap-à-pié *argent*, having pendant from his neck a shield *azure*, mounted on a horse of the *second*, with trappings *azure* garnished *or*; VISCONTI, *Argent*, a serpent wavy in pale *azure*, crowned *or*, a child issuant *gules*.





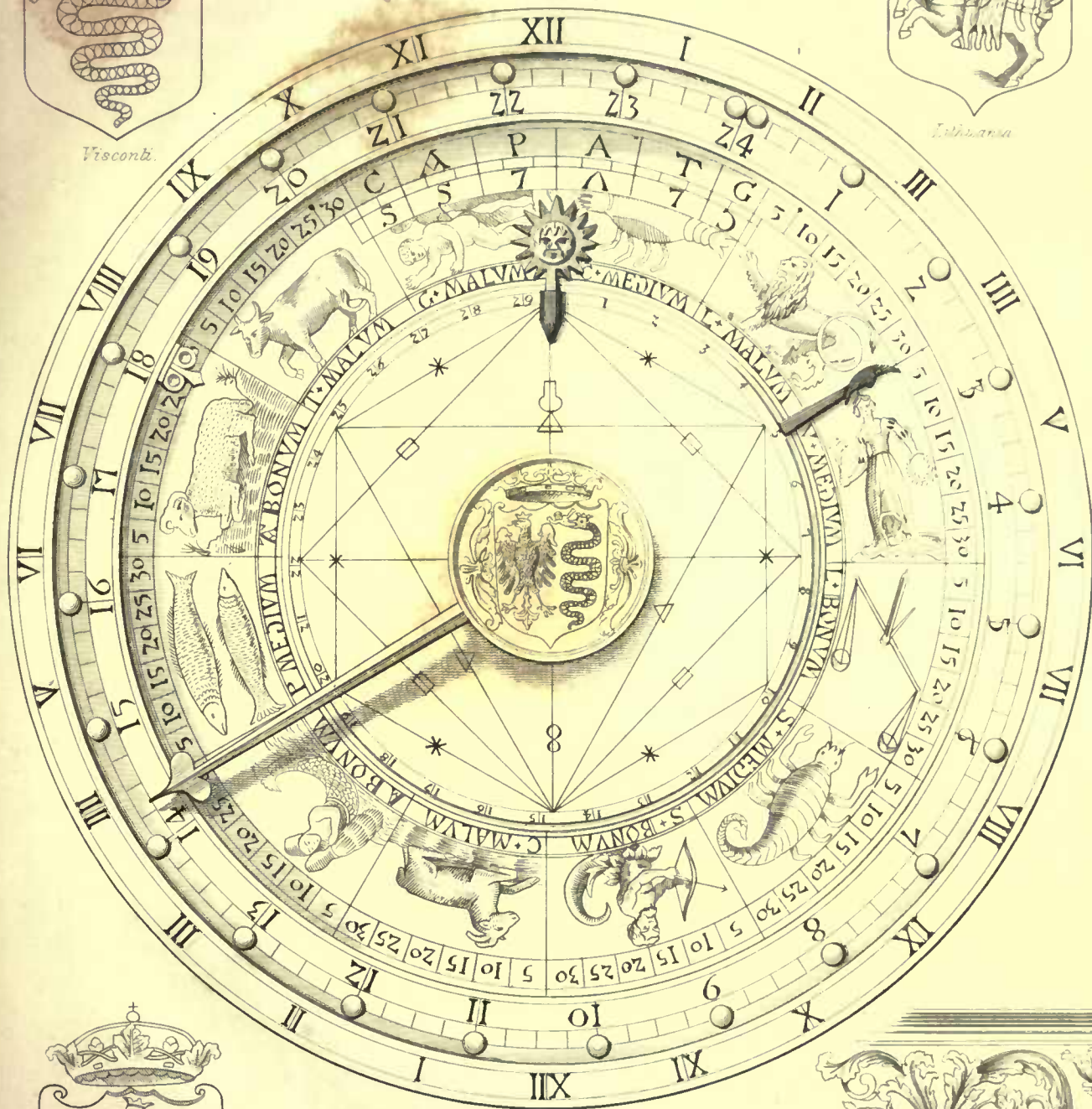
Visconti.



Jacobs Stamp.



Lorraine.



The Clock's Face



Poland.



Pattern of the foliation





cuted expressly for that monarch in 1524, and is now in the British Museum. This interesting relic is on vellum, and elaborately illuminated; it is in very fine preservation, but shamefully cropped by some ignorant binder. It contains various autograph entries relating to the family of Sigismund; and that they are in the handwriting of Queen Bona I have the assurance of my friend Mr. Holmes, of the manuscript department of the British Museum, who says that this has been proved by direct comparison with other authentic documents. This missal was taken by her Majesty to Bari, when she retired into Italy after her husband's death, and in process of time fell into the possession of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, by whom it was kindly submitted to my examination.<sup>a</sup> My late friend Mr. Douce had also a volume of Hours of exquisite beauty, and of Albert Durer tone and finish in the decorations, which he bequeathed to the Bodleian Library at Oxford; and in this, under a beautiful figure of the Virgin, is the date 1527. The Office is concluded by a prayer expressly written for Bona, whose arms, with those of Poland and Lithuania, appear there as displayed in our clock. The "Oratio" opens,—*"Deus omnipotens Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, da mihi famule tue BONÆ victoriam contra inimicos meos;"* and is earnest in petitioning,—*"Propheta clamans a preliis dixit ✕ Christus in se confidentem ✕ Christus vincit ✕ Christus imperat ✕ Christe dignare esse triumphator omnium adversariorum meorum,"* &c.

The identity of this lady being of some import to the story of the clock, a few particulars respecting her may be stated; and substantial clues for this object are afforded in the autobiographical entries just mentioned, as well as in Beatillo's "*Istoria di Bari*" and Giustiniani's "*Dizionario Geografico*." In the first place we learn from the Missal, and the fact is there recorded with astrological minutiae, that Bona was born on the 2nd of February, 1494, exactly at thirteen hours thirty minutes, "whom may a most felicitous fate attend as long as rivers shall flow between their banks, and stars accompany the convex pole." She became the second wife of Sigismund in 1518, being then a sprightly damsel of twenty-four, while her husband was nearly sixty years of age; and, from an entry in her own handwriting, her annual dowry in Poland amounted to 54,000 florins (*solidi*) of thirty groschen each, and in Lithuania 36,000—making £2,700 and £1,800 of our money. She bore a son and four daughters, whose births are all minutely recorded on the fly-leaves, much in the manner still practised in many

<sup>a</sup> Since this paper was read to the Society, a communication to the Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1845, has been shown me by Mr. J. G. Nichols. It is a very accurate description of the Missal I have quoted, from the pen of Sir F. Madden; and is well worthy of a reference by the inquiring antiquary.



family bibles : her husband died on the 1st of April, 1548, on which occasion she received the consolatory letter from Isabella Sforza, which was published by Ortensio Lando in 1549. The able old monarch was succeeded by Sigismund the Second, surnamed Augustus, from having been born on the 1st of August, 1520, who wielded the Polish sceptre with an ability only inferior to that of his father ; but in his domestic life was not equally fortunate. He first embroiled himself with the nobles by marrying a person of inferior rank ; and, on the death of his first wife, seems to have offended his mother, by espousing the Duke of Mantua's widow in 1553. Bona remained at his court, however, for some months after that event, for we find her sending a congratulatory dispatch to our Queen Mary on her marriage with Philip of Spain, from Warsaw, on the 8th of July, 1554. This document is now in the British Museum, (MS. Cott. Nero, B. II. fol. 108), and is thus signed :—

*Giuseppe M<sup>ris</sup> - v. -*  
*Soror bona regina*  
*SC*

That there was a breach between Bona and her son, is clear from circumstance and the tone of her historians, "*essendosi disgustata col figlio.*" On Saturday, the 1st of February, 1555, she therefore quitted Poland for ever ; and, after travelling with no railway celerity, made her "most happy entrance, amid great rejoicings," into Bari, on Wednesday, the 13th of May, bearing among her chattels the missals we have cited, and in all probability our clock. Bari is the capital of a territory which had been settled upon the Sforza family, when the Duke of Milan married the daughter of Alphonsus the Second ; and in 1524 the Emperor Charles the

Fifth made a formal investiture of it to Bona, after whose death the duchy reverted to the crown. She expired on the 19th of November, 1557, and her remains were deposited in the cathedral; but in 1593 they were removed to the basilicate church of San Niccolò, to which she had bequeathed a legacy of 1000 ducats per annum for the portioning of ten orphan girls in marriage,—where also her daughter Anna had erected a superb monument to her memory. She was a great benefactress to this archiepiscopal city; and, among other timely gifts, increased the number of public fountains, and inscribed them with invitations to the poor and penniless:

“ Pauperes sitientes venite cum lætitia, et sine argento  
Bibite aquas, quas Bona Regina Poloniæ preparavit.”

As there cannot, then, exist a reasonable doubt as to the person for whom this piece of mechanism was originally made, so the impalement affords an inferential clue to its having been presented to Bona. Nor was an astrological clock an inappropriate present to a lady, at a period when people of all ranks were infatuated in favour of judicial astrology and its silly, but often pernicious, inferences. Our own country grovelled under the power of this gross influence, from the otherwise great men of the darker ages, down to the enlightened days of Evelyn, Ashmole, and Sir Christopher Wren. In France, according to the French historians, this superstition was so much in vogue during the time of Queen Catharine de Medici, that the most inconsiderable thing was not to be done without consulting the stars. Nearly a century afterwards, Kepler, in allusion to the connexion between astronomy and astrology, described the latter as the foolish daughter of a wise mother; yet, conceiving that the study of astronomy had been greatly neglected ever since men slackened in their regard for the occult art, he exclaimed, “ I repent bitterly having too much decried astrology !”

One very important consequence, however, of the superstition is clear,—the study of the Uranian science and of its shadow promoted the advance of horomety, the which on its part rendered most efficient returns, insomuch that the obligations to each other have reciprocated essential and admirable improvements. As the motions of the heavenly bodies gave rise to the measurement of time, so were the early clocks often constructed as well to show the hours of the day, as the apparent movements of the sun and moon through all the degrees of the zodiac. Thus the famous clock at Strasburg, and the no less celebrated one at Prague, exhibited not only the day, month, and year, but likewise the planetary motions. Besides these requisites, they were clogged with the addition of knights, birds, and beasts, as well as a plentiful stock of astrological arcana, and a complicated system of whim-



sical ornament. The noted horologium of Mæstlin, indeed, is usually cited as the first which was directly applied to exact astronomy ; but, as it was only made in the year 1577, such a statement cannot be exactly true : and it appears that this instrument made 2528 beats in an hour, 146 of which were counted during the sun's transit over an established meridian-line, consequently yielding  $34' 13''$  as his diameter.

Though it is evident from this recorded result, that the devisers of the planetary mechanism of horologia had yet something to learn, still they are entitled to high consideration for their ingenuity, however they may have failed in absolute accuracy. Now an examination of the movement train in our own clock, shows a much nearer approximation for the periodic periods than we could fairly have expected. This machine, fabricated 52 years before Mæstlin's, has, in addition to the time-going apparatus, a properly adapted set of wheels for displaying the course of the sun and moon over an engraven ecliptic ; and there is a contrivance for awakening attention by striking a single blow on a sonorous bell at every hour. By looking into the teeth of these wheels, we find for the revolutions of—

$$\begin{array}{lcl} \text{the Moon} & . . . . . & \frac{12}{6} \times \frac{82}{6} = \frac{984}{36} \text{ of a day} = 27^d. 8^h, \\ \text{the Sun} & . . . . . & \frac{984}{36} \times \frac{81}{6} = \frac{79704}{216} = 369 \text{ days,} \end{array}$$

which, under all circumstances, cannot be deemed so vehemently inaccurate as to merit disrespect. Indeed, an inspection of the interior must command regard. The bottom plate, or lower circle of the case, shows much evidence of design in the Bohemian artist, for it is impressed with four remarkably neat little escutcheons at right angles with each other ; on these, with higher taste than the mere tradesmen's symbols which then prevailed, the field of each has J. Z., surmounted by a regulating balance and a portion of an escapement,—a powerful governor of the wheels, which may perhaps be assigned to John Megestein, a native of Cologne, who improved clocks in the fourteenth century. On removing this plate the whole of the works are seen, and, in competent viewers, they excite the utmost surprise respecting their plan, workmanship, and preservation. The wheels for the driving and maintaining powers, as well as for the striking apparatus, are made of iron, and retain certain punched marks, which prove—were proof necessary—that the divisions have been cut with a file by hand ; and the levers, being fast to the arbor or verge of the pallets, are capable of vibrating either in a horizontal or vertical position. It is fitted with an expansive powerful spring, coiled in a drum or barrel, as a prime mover ; and a hand-made fuzee, a kind of truncated cone,



for equalizing the variable power of a wound-up spring in all its different states of tension under a motive force: in other words, by spirally reducing the diameter of the cone in an inverse ratio to the relaxing power of the spring, an equal degree of motive force is continuously exerted upon the machinery of the time-keeper. This very beautiful contrivance is generally considered as of much later date than we here find it to have been; indeed this is a proof that it was used before the *stak-frede*—its predecessor for equalizing the isochronal motion—was done away with.<sup>a</sup> This fuzee is therefore a trusty chronological testimony of old Jacob's ability, and his knowledge of one of the nicest introductions into portable clocks so early as 1525: but here the injurious effects of substituting a modern metallic chain for its original cat-gut band are very palpable, for, the fuzee being made of a metal softer than the steel chain, it is so pained by the action it has undergone that three out of eight spiral threads at the smaller end are nearly destroyed.

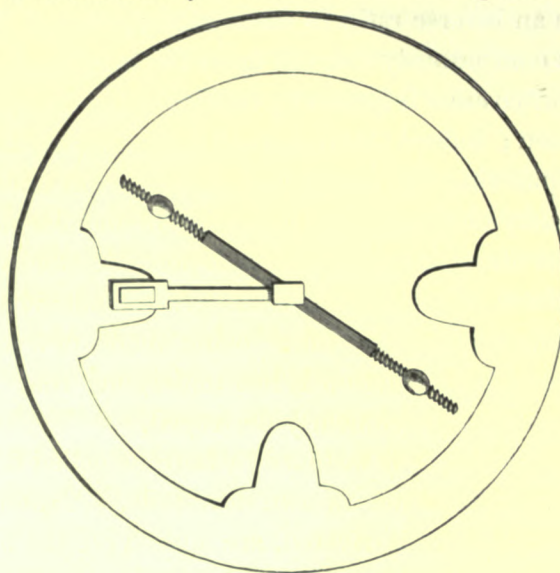
The frame is fastened by buttons called dogs, which turn in upon a curb; and the verge-pivots act on iron dove-tails. A ratch with a click acting beneath the frame to which it is riveted, are placed on the upper part of the barrel; and round the ratchet-wheel is a circle of drilled holes for introducing a leverage to set up the spring by, there being no square to the barrel-arbour.

There is still another neat and unlooked for application: between the shields of Poland and Lithuania on the case, there is a small aperture closed by a brass door with a spring catch, the orifice of which is rather more than an inch square. The object of this is to allow of the fore finger being introduced, and placed upon a sort of locking-plate, with a ratchet wheel which acts on the striking part; and also as an auxiliary for making the works continue to go during the winding-up process. Now, relative to the *going-fuzee*, this masterly stride towards a philosophical husbandry of time was considered, generally, as having been invented a century and a half after our clock was in possession of Queen Bona. On the brass wheel of this novel feature appear the numbers I, II, III, IIII, with a flat tying-star of six points over them; this enables the owner of the clock to vary and adjust the position of a pin under the ratchet, so that the tang may occur at various times; and there is a hole in the ratch-formed wheel, for a string to pull it round by.

Over all these wheels and works there is a long balance, by which the motion is regulated and the beats determined; it consists of an iron bar carrying a screw at

<sup>a</sup> The poor but clever artist A. Janvier, in his "*Étrennes Chronométriques pour l'an 1811*", mentions that in his family was preserved a clock fitted with "*la courbe appelée stak-freed*," which had been in use upwards of three centuries.

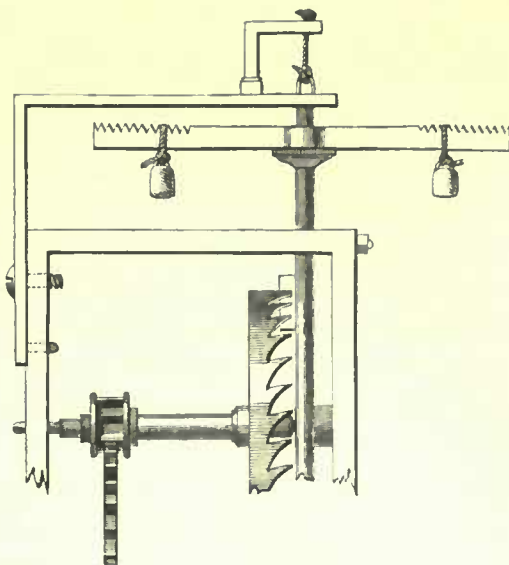
each of the ends, with tapped weights of lead for the adjustment of the escapement to time, so that the maintaining power should be accurately transmitted to the regulator. Though of rough workmanship, it is equal to its duty ; and there are two yielding brass arms, acting as the modern bankings do, to keep it in its place during the vibratory action. This is a very important part of a portable clock, and should be distinctly comprehended, in order to judge how nearly perfection had been attained in the *Vertical Scape* 323 years ago, before the invention of pendulum springs. The annexed diagram attests its form, and it will be at once seen that the bar, which carries the two weights conjointly, answers the purpose of the modern balance.



It is a known condition in horology that, if the diameter of the balance be too great, the clock will go slow ; if too little, the rate will then be accelerated ; and if of a proper weight and diameter, any addition of motive-force will make little or no change in the time-keeping. The weight and diameter of the balance are circumstances very materially connected also with the wearing of the cylinder edges. The weights will be in the inverse ratio of the squares of their diameters, and, the smaller the latter, the greater will be the arc of vibration : if therefore the vibrations were too quick, the momentum of the balance was increased by removing the weights further from the centre of motion, and *vice versâ*, an operation at once easy and obvious. Now the balance before us is so manifest an improvement over that used by the famous Henry de Wyck, that it is worthy of consideration. From the Bohemian's having adopted the latter as his symbol on the escutcheon just mentioned, it seems pretty evident that he esteemed its efficiency, although not the first contriver of the new modification which he adopted ; and in this opinion I am fully borne out by Mr. Octavius Morgan, F.S.A. who is well versed in horology, and who thinks that this method may safely be given to the celebrated artist Peter Hele, of Nuremburg, who made what were then designated "pocket-clocks," in 1500. But the origin of applying a governor to the motive powers, though sometimes attributed to John Megestein, is lost in the fog of ages. That used by de Wyck seems



to have been in very early practice, and Mr. Rowell, of Oxford, assured me that he had seen one among some rubbish in a turret of Dover Castle.\* In the ingenious bit of mechanism immortalized by de Wyck, the escapement was by a crown-wheel (*roue de rencontre*) fixed on a vertical arbor moving on pivots, and suspended at the upper end by a slender cord from a small cock to preserve its perpendicular direction, whilst the alternate oscillations, communicated by the action of the crown-wheel and pallets, were regulated by means of a vibratory iron beam, with a weight on each brachium, placed at corresponding spaces from the arbor by the aid of little equidistant notches, thus :



We may now proceed to a description of the dial ; but as a preliminary remark, it is proper to mention that the situation of the clock in the case is fixed and determined, and cannot be changed ; and that the plate on which the signs of the zodiac are engraved is also fixed : consequently, the outer or horary circle and the zodiacal signs always retain the same situation relative to each other, and to the body of the work in the case. The only moveable pieces on the exterior are the sun, the moon, the hand, and the sidereal-hour circle. The extreme periphery of the top of the case, which must be considered as a portion of the dial, though elevated rather above it, is divided into 24 hours, in two portions of 12 each, as was customary on the clock-faces of those days : hence Shakespeare makes the villain Iago say, that, if Cassio has no drink, the prologue to his sleep, he'll keep awake during the 24 hours,

“ He'll watch the horologe a *double set*,  
If drink rock not his cradle.”

It is to these figures that the hand points which shows mean solar time, and which makes one revolution from noon to noon. Inside of this is a ring, moveable by the hand only, also divided into 24 portions, and at each hour is a knob for giving azimuthal motion to it, only at the twenty-fourth there are two knobs, and at the eighteenth hour there is an ornament, probably intended as an index, which seems

\* While on this inquiry, various rumours of old specimens reached me ; my object, however, was not a collective account of old clocks, but a wish to discover one which is still in its pristine condition, that was made earlier than 1525.



to have been checked by two small stops, the holes for which appear on either side of the declination segment. This ring or circle, when properly adjusted, shows the sidereal time corresponding to solar hours; and it would be a very useful adaptation, as well as of easy application, to the time-pieces of many of our present amateur astronomers.

The third concentric band of the dial, proceeding towards the centre, is a plate divided into twelve equal sections by radiating lines extending over the entire width of the plate; and each of these portions, with the exception of those occupied by the signs Gemini and Cancer, into six equal parts, indicated by the figures 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, an arrangement by which the entire circumference is apportioned into three hundred and sixty degrees, first by lines dividing it into twelve parts of thirty degrees each, and then each of these, with the exception of the two before-mentioned, into six parts of five degrees. The lines that separate the sign of Sagittarius from Capricorn, and the sign of Gemini from Cancer, would, if prolonged, intersect the two XII's on the horary rim. On this broad circular band are engraved the emblems of the zodiac, not however in accordance with Manilius, for the Ram disdains to look back on the "mighty" bull; the cow-looking Bull exhibits his whole figure; the Lion is not unlike that in the Venetian edition of Hyginus, 1485; the Virgin wears the slish-and-slash trunk-sleeves which provoked Petruchio; Sagittarius is half a man and half a conger-eel; Capricorn is not the compound creature that augured the good fortunes of Augustus and Vespasian; the Water-bearer is a rank merman; and the fishes have no *chetil* or ribbon. Under Aries, Libra, Sagittarius, and Aquarius, is placed the significant augural word BONUM; while under Cancer, Virgo, Scorpio, and Pisces, appears MEDIUM; and beneath Taurus, Gemini, Leo, and Capricorn, is the ominous epithet, MALUM. In the two signs Cancer and Gemini, the spaces which in the others are occupied by the degree divisions are engraved with C. A. P. A. T. G. reading from the centre; and encroaching upon the space reserved in the other divisions for the signs, are the letters C. L. V. L. S. S. reading from the exterior. These two rows of characters are divided by a double arc serving as a scale, and giving three equal divisions to each, beginning from the radius that separates Cancer and Gemini; laterally the lower row of initials encroach a little upon Leo on one side, and on Taurus on the other. At first sight this was rather baffling; but looking to the purpose of the plate, it soon struck me as a means of reading off the declination; and that, commencing from the middle, the letters are the initials of the signs, divided into northern and southern.

The next or fourth department of the dial is the plate, which carries a neat crescent to indicate the moon, of which plate only a very small portion is seen; her age is

read off on the extreme verge of the solar plate, which is divided for the purpose into  $29\frac{1}{2}$ ; and yet it advances thirty degrees every month, which, supposing the year to consist of three hundred and sixty-five days, would be thirty days and ten hours, to the same time that the moon's image is travelling twenty-nine days and twelve hours. To show the mechanical peculiarities of this case, it must be remembered that the moon would circumgyrate the earth in about twenty-seven days and seven hours; but she has to proceed two days and five hours longer (owing to the earth's orbital progress) before she can regain the same relative position, with regard to the sun and earth, as she was in at the beginning of the calculation. Thus a lunar month consists of twenty-nine days and a half, and yet, twelve lunations amounting only to three hundred and fifty-four days, about half another lunation is required for the solar year. The "man-i'-th'-moon" face, and the form of the emblem, reveals the prevalent notion to which Butler alludes:—

"Tell me but what 's the natural cause,  
Why on a sign no painter draws  
The full moon ever, but the half?  
Resolve that with your Jacob's staff."

The fifth portion in succession is the plate carrying the full-faced sun, which simply makes one revolution in the year, pointing to the signs of the zodiac in succession. Lastly, there is the stout hand, which points to the mean solar time, and makes one revolution in twenty-four hours. Minutes being then unregistered, this hand is the only one; and it is keyed to its arbour for the purpose of being advanced or retrograded at pleasure, to point to any hour. But there seems to be some little difficulty in respect to the astrological figures being domified, or distributed into the XII houses of the heavens, in order to erect the theme by means of the six great circles of position; for the sun and moon must apparently be set in reference to one another, and to the then dominant sign of the zodiac, by placing the wheels and pinions connected with them properly in gear. The end must certainly have been deemed worth the trouble, since the face of the plates then offered a ready reckoner for calculating future events on the scheme or horoscope presented by the disposition of the celestial mansions; and both fortune and destiny could be read off at any given time according to the trine, quartile, or sextile aspects. These are all boldly engraven in the central field of the dial, and they are severally distinguished by a small triangle, a square, and a six-pointed star. Queen Bona must have been much in advance of her age, if she did not frequently consult so *imposing* a monitor.

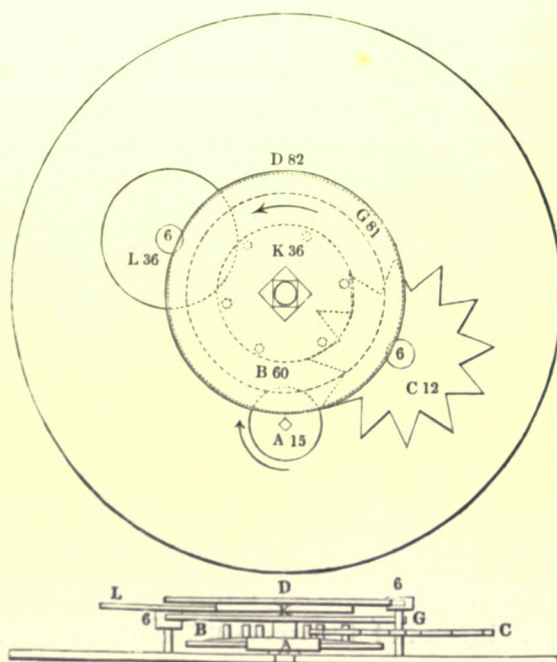
The examination of the Bohemian clock which I thus made, gave me a due sense of its importance as a relic, and of the necessity of taking all possible measures for



its future preservation, as well as making a record of its properties and present condition. But, being better acquainted with the use and general structure than with the technical and actual handicraft work of the constituents of these beautiful machines, I determined to have the interior train strictly examined by competent and acknowledged authority. With the full concurrence therefore of your lordship, I had the clock carefully conveyed to the house of Mr. B. L. Vulliamy, the present Master of the Clockmakers' Company, whose well-earned reputation is a guarantee for the soundness of his opinion in these matters. From this gentleman I received the following gratuitous detailed description; and I have further to add, that the clock was returned well cleaned, and relieved from the accumulated dust of some lustres of years—

“ The Antiquaries' old horological machine is both curious and valuable; and I have given a very close examination into its details. The series of wheels and pinions which move the sun and the moon, and the hour hand, will I think be readily understood by the following details, and a reference to the diagrams which I have drawn.

“ The principal train of wheels, which is kept in motion by the main-spring, communicates with the iron pinion or small wheel A (*see the figure*), of 15 teeth, carried by the arbour prolonged through the plate of the great wheel and fuzee, which is in gear with the iron wheel B of 60 teeth. The wheel B carries 6 pins, which act upon the star-wheel C of 12 rays, and cause it to revolve in 48 hours. The wheel C carries a pinion of 6 teeth, in gear with the wheel D of 82 teeth (the upper one of the four concentric wheels). On the under side of the wheel D is fixed a smaller wheel, K, of 36 teeth, which is in gear with an exactly similar wheel, L, also of 36 teeth, in gear with the wheel G, of 81 teeth (the second above the plate). The four top wheels B, D, E, and G, are concentric.





"The iron wheel B, the one next to the plate, carries the hour-hand. The upper wheel D carries the moon. The middle wheel G carries the sun. All these wheels, with the exception of B, are made of brass.

"Having enumerated the train of wheels, it next remains to be shown in what periods of time they make their respective revolutions. There can be no doubt but B, carrying the hand, is intended to revolve in 24 hours, whence it follows that the star-wheel C and its pinion revolve in 48 hours. The pinion is in gear with and leads the wheel D, carrying the moon, which consequently makes one revolution upon its axis in 27 days and 8 hours.<sup>a</sup>

"The wheel E, fixed to the under side of D and F, with whose pinion it is in gear, necessarily makes one revolution in the same time as the wheel D. The pinion again is in gear with G, which carries the sun, and causes it to revolve in exactly 369 days.<sup>b</sup>

"The ordinary mode of representing the age of the moon upon the face of a clock is by a hand that makes one revolution in 29 days and 12 hours. In this clock the moon's age is read off on the margin of the sun's plate, which is for that purpose divided into  $29\frac{1}{2}$ . The solar plate, it has been shown, makes one revolution upon its axis in 369 days; also that the lunar plate revolves once upon its axis in 27 days, 8 hours, being 2 days 4 hours less than the duration of one moon. The mode in which the moon's plate is made to indicate 29 days and 12 hours upon the margin of the sun's plate now remains to be shown. This plate, and the one that carries the sun, both revolve on the same axis, and in the same direction; but the advance of the moon is, from the arrangement of the wheels and pinions, very much quicker than that of the sun, and its motion is accelerated sufficiently to cause the moon's index to indicate  $29\frac{1}{2}$  on the margin of the sun's plate, which it does in 29 days and 12 hours, and in this manner to include the 2 days and 4 hours before mentioned. To accomplish this, the lunar plate makes one revolution and a portion of a second every moon; and the exact number of teeth representing that portion is shown by the following statement:— $27^d 8^h$  are in the same ratio to  $29^d 12^h$  that 82 teeth, the number in the wheel representing one revolution of the wheel, are to 88.5 teeth, which expresses the number employed, since deducting 82 from 88.5 leaves 6.5 for the additional number required to cause the moon-plate to make a complete revolution round the sun's plate, and thus indicate  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days.<sup>c</sup> To ascertain the number of revolutions that the moon-plate makes upon its axis in 12 moons, the least trouble will be to multiply 88.5 (the number of teeth employed in one revolution of the moon) by 12, and divide the produce by 82, the quotient will be 12.951, or very near 13 revolutions. The number of days in which the moon makes 12 revolutions round the earth is shown by multiplying 29 days 12 hours by 12, and the produce being 354, the number of days sought for.

Beneath the plan of the motion work, is a vertical view of the position of the wheels. The pins which act upon the star-wheel C are affixed to a brass spring of six rays, to keep it steady upon the wheel B.

"It now only remains to notice in reference to the motions of the sun and moon, that the wheel which carries the moon-plate is required to make 13.5 revolutions to carry the sun round one revolution, but only 12.95 to make the moon's index show 12 complete moons, being a quantity 0.55 less than the other.

"The correctness of the above statement in reference to the motions of the sun and moon are further shown by the following additional calculations:—That 82 teeth bear precisely the same proportion to 6.5

<sup>a</sup> The wheel D=82 teeth÷the pinion of 6 teeth= $13\frac{1}{3}$  revolutions of the pinion, and each of them occupying 48 hours, gives 27 days and 8 hours for one revolution of the lunar wheel.

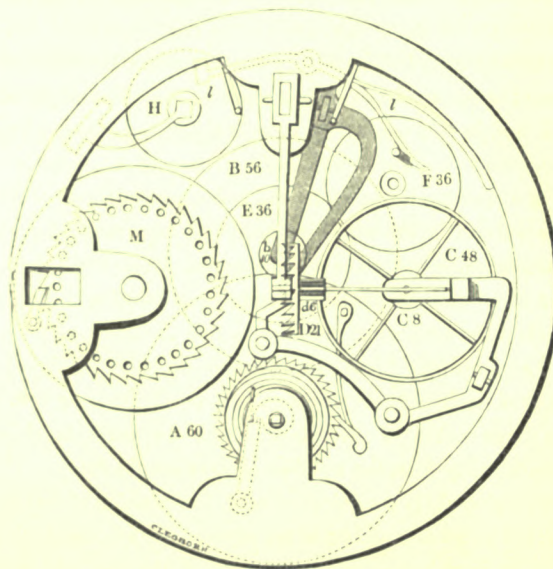
<sup>b</sup> The wheel G 81 teeth÷the pinion with 6 teeth of wheel F= $13\frac{1}{2}$  revolutions of the pinion, which revolving in 27 days and 8 hours, or 656 hours  $\times 13\frac{1}{2}$ =8856 hours, or 369 days=solar wheel.

<sup>c</sup> As  $27^d 8^h : 82 \text{ teeth} :: 29^d 12^h : 88.5 \text{ teeth}$ , showing the right surplus to be 6.5 teeth.

teeth that 27 days 8 hours bear to 2 days 4 hours. Moreover, by dividing 369 days (in which the sun makes one revolution) by 13.5 (the number of revolutions of the pinion with which that wheel is in gear), the quotient will be  $27\frac{1}{3}$ , or expressed in time 27 days 8 hours, which it was before stated was equal to one revolution of the moon-plate.

"It now remains to describe the maintaining power, and the train of wheels by which the sun, the moon, and the hand are made to revolve, and the period for which they revolve with once winding up the maintaining power.

"In this machine the maintaining power is a spring contained in a barrel M, pretty much in the same manner as is now practised. The barrel is connected with the fusee by a chain, and this is the only part of the clock that is not in its original state; for it is well known that chains were not employed at so early a period as 1525, when this was made. The fusee is of soft metal, there having been then no engine to cut the spiral line on which the catgut was wound: and the escapement is the verge-and-crown wheel one usually called the vertical scape. The train consists of 4 wheels and 3 pinions as follows:



"The great or first wheel, A, the arbour of which, prolonged through the plate, carries the pinion of 15 teeth, which communicates the motion to the wheels under the dial, and to which is attached the fusee, makes 4 revolutions in 24 hours. This wheel is in gear with the pinion *b* of 10 teeth, carried by the second wheel B of 56 teeth, which makes 6 revolutions to 1 of the wheel A, and consequently 24 revolutions in the 24 hours. This wheel B is in gear with the pinion C of 8 teeth, carried by the bevil wheel C of 48 teeth, and consequently makes 7 revolutions in an hour. The bevil wheel C is in gear with the scape-wheel pinion *d* of 6 teeth, carried by the scape-wheel D of 21 teeth, and makes 8 revolutions to 1 of the bevil wheel, and consequently 56 revolutions in an hour; the balance necessarily makes 2 beats to each tooth of the 'scape-wheel, and consequently 42 beats to each revolution, which occasions 2,352 beats in an hour.



“The wheel E, of 36 teeth, being on the same arbour as the wheel D, necessarily makes 1 revolution in 12 hours; and this wheel, being in gear with a similar wheel, F, also makes one revolution in 12 hours. The purport of the wheel F is to raise a hammer *ll*, and cause the clock to strike a single blow every hour upon a small bell, H, placed in the frame of the clock. This wheel is keyed upon its arbour.”

Such, my Lord, being the state and structure of the astrological clock before us, it will be readily conceded that, however deficient the motive power may be of what the French artists term *luxe d'exécution*, it is of the highest consideration as a relic of the science and workmanship of a very early period. I trust that this rather lengthy disquisition will at least have shewn that, in all the leading essentials of horology, this machine is fully equal to the mensuration of time; that it contains various points of excellence which are usually held to be of later periods; that it possesses nearly all the equalizing powers from which our modern chronometers acquire both their form and value; and that nice calculations were as well consulted in its fabric, as geometrical principles. Indeed an attentive study of its mechanism may moderate that too confident vaunt of the exclusive pre-eminence of our own age in cultivation of the mind, and delicate skill of hand,—for it bears palpable evidence that, though much remained for modification, there was but little left for invention.

I have the honour to remain,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's very faithful Servant

W. H. SMYTH.

3, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea,  
4th May, 1848.



III.—*Antiquarian Researches in the Ionian Islands, in the year 1812, by JOHN LEE, Esq. LL.D., F.R.S. Communicated in a Letter to Captain W. H. SMYTH, R.N., K.S.F., Director.*

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Read May 18th, 1848.

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Hartwell House, near Aylesbury,  
12th May, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR,

IN compliance with your request, I now forward to you the accompanying journal of my proceedings at Ithaca; and I have the greater pleasure in so doing, as it affords me an opportunity of showing my respect for and obedience to the wishes of one holding the office of Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London. At the same time, I cannot expect that this journal will be deserving of much of your attention, which is generally bestowed on higher subjects; though under your guidance I trust that it may not prove unacceptable to this Society.

ZANTE, καλὰ πόλις ἃ τε Ζάκυνθος.

On the morning of the 26th of October, 1812, I arrived at Zante on my return westward from the Morea; and was right glad to find myself, after travelling several years in the Levant, again amongst my countrymen, in an island under the protection of the British flag.

By General Airey, then Governor of the Ionian Islands, by Signor Spiridion Foresti, our Consul-General, and by several officers of the garrison, and of the navy, I had the good fortune to be received with much kindness, and every facility was offered me in examining the antiquities of the island. Besides visiting the castle, supposed to be and sometimes called the Stadium Oneæ, I made an excursion to the celebrated Pitch Wells. On another occasion I ascended Mount Scopò, the Mons Elatus of Pliny, about one thousand feet high, from whence there is a beautiful view of the island, and of the Morea from north to south, as far as the eye can

reach. I also visited the extensive plain in the central part of the island, where a great portion of our Christmas currants are grown.

During my stay at Zante, a very interesting coin, inscribed ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑ. ΚΩΤΗ-ΡΕΙΑ. ΙΣΟ. ΠΥΘΙΑ. was found, apparently struck at Ancyra in Galatia, on the celebration of the Pythian games in that city; and also an olive-shaped leaden sling-bullet, resembling those known in the neighbouring isles and in Magna Grecia: it was thus stamped, ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ (from *Asclepiodorus*).

CEPHALONIA, *olim* Κεφαλληνία.

On the 14th of December, a gun-boat being dispatched for Cephalonia, the Governor granted me a passage in it, and we reached Argostóli on the following day. I immediately called on Major de Bosset, the Lieutenant-Governor of the island, to request his permission to make examinations among some of the ruins, to which he politely acceded. On the 16th I visited the bridge, or rather causeway, across the harbour, recently constructed under the major's direction; a fine and useful work, 498 passi (of five feet each) in length, or about half a mile.

On the following day I examined the ruins of the ancient Κρανεά, still called *La Fortezza Vecchia di Crania*. They are situated on a steep acclivity at the head of the port. The excellent new road from Argostóli, skirting the marsh, winds round the foot of this hill, and leads to the *Fortezza di San Giorgio*, about five miles distant, in the district of Borgo, and to the villages of Omalà and San Gerásimo. On the top of this hill there are traces of old walls, in some places made of well-hewn stone, and in others in the rough cyclopean style, following the nature of the ground, even to bordering a precipice. There is one regular gate into the city. From the new road above-mentioned, there was a path, leading by a sepulchre cut in the rock, round the site of the castle. There was but little temptation however to excavate, nor did I discover any inscriptions but an imperfect one with the farewell word ΧΑΙΡΕ, apparently addressed to a Kranian mother.

These ruins, of which I made the following sketch, in their general aspect are not unlike those of Messene and Megalopolis, which are commonly considered to be of the time of the Peloponnesian war. According to the testimony of Thucydides, the island then contained four cities—Samos, Palæ, Kranea, and Pronos—for which reason it was called Tetrapolon: the vestiges of which are amply sufficient to shew the political weight and importance of the ancient Cephalonia.





I had the pleasure of examining Major de Bosset's collection of coins, vases, and other antiques, and admired his diligence in preserving every thing of taste relating to the archæology of the island. Some of the vases indicated an age greatly anterior to that of the others, and several articles appeared to be of Egyptian origin. I was permitted to copy the following inscription commemorative of a Cassandrian man and woman "buried here," which is deeply and well cut on a marble slab from the ruins of Samos :

ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΑ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΙΣ  
ΜΗΤΡΟ ΦΑΝΤΟΣ  
ΤΑΡΜΕΝΙΟΝΟΣ  
ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΕΥΣ.

On the 22nd, having taken leave of my friends at Argostóli, I set out on my journey for Samos, agreeably accompanied by another English gentleman, and, having



crossed the harbour by the fore-mentioned causeway, saw the fountain which has been erected for the convenience of passengers. The next object was the village of Paraclata, about an hour distant from the sea, on the acclivity of Mount Évgero, the ancient Mons Ænus, by the Italians called Monte Leone. We passed another village on our left, called Delinata, larger than the former, and about an hour further on. Soon after we came in sight of the isle of Ithaca, from the highest part of the mountain called Sella. One portion of this fine limestone range is covered with wood, and named Arià.

From thence we gradually descended; but before we arrived at Samo we passed the Myrkina Vuno, or Myrtle hill, on our right, and Pylada, a mountain and village so called, on our left. It was gratifying to witness the exertions made by the government to improve the roads (a new feature in Ionian civilization), so that this little journey can now be performed in half the time that it used to occupy before the English troops arrived. At a village called Scalia, there is a stone about a foot long, inscribed with IENIS.

On the 23rd of December I examined the site of the ancient Samo or Same; but, the weather being favourable for crossing to Ithaca, and learning that travellers were sometimes delayed here for many days by a rough sea, I engaged a boat expressly, and proceeded across the channel, in two hours and a half. We landed, with no small feeling of gratification, in a cove at the foot of Mount Aito, having beheld the ruins of the Castle of Ulysses during the greater part of the transit. We now sent our luggage by the usual route to the little town of Vathi, and ascended to the summit of the mountain to acquire a general knowledge of its locality. From thence we had a magnificent view of both islands, and of several of the adjacent islets. We descended on the eastern side of the kastro to the harbour of Vathi, a walk of five hours, and, arriving after sunset, gladly took possession of the lodgings which the Consul had provided for us, in consequence of the letter of recommendation that I had forwarded to him.

ITHACA. *hodie Θεάκι, olim Ίθάκη.*

On the 24th, we called on the Commandant of the island, Captain Guitiera, and, making known my wish to him to excavate among the ancient vestiges, he politely—and apparently “nothing loath”—gave his consent thereto; and he moreover showed us a few antiques which had been found in the island.

26th. Assisted by the Consul, we engaged some labourers with spades and pick-

axes; and, being shown where Major de Bosset and other travellers had been successful, we were delayed only by the rain. However, we contrived to visit the fountain of Arethusa, going through the vineyards south of the town, which we found to be a distance of about an hour and a half.

27th. This morning, joined by some other friends from Cephalonia, we at last proceeded on our undertaking, and first examined some small Roman tombs at the foot of the hill, but they had already been ransacked. We then went on to a spot higher up the hill, outside the confines of the old castle. It was uneven, rocky ground, and in some parts cultivated with vines; and, on finding some graves that had been previously opened, we commenced our operations around them. Belonging to one of these was a tablet in honour of one Prauchus, but only inscribed with the single word  $\text{IPATXOY}$ ; and on another slightly corniced, to commemorate some hospitable Lycian, we read  $\text{ATKYNOIOΣ EYΞENOS}$ . We then found several graves cut five or six feet deep in the solid rock, covered with large tiles, but filled with earth. Still by careful examination we found therein some small terra-cotta vases, with a few silver rings, and even some gold ornaments. One of the latter was in form elliptical, with a human head at each extremity.

28th. This day we began working at an earlier hour and with more regularity, and by the evening were rewarded by discovering a gold chain, several articles in silver, and others in bronze; also some terra-cottas, and a few medals of Corinth, Aearnania, and Istiaea. But, on our return to the town, we imprudently exhibited all that we had found, in order to gratify several persons who called upon us, and wished to see the result of our labour. This step however only excited jealousy and envy, instead of giving satisfaction, for we were soon informed that the primates of the island had requested the Commandant to stop our proceedings. Reports were spread that the local government disapproved of the conduct of those who had given us assistance; still we received no public or official notice of its disapprobation.

29th. This morning we went to work again, but with only seven labourers, and we had reason to believe that the others were prevented from coming to our aid by the fear of being sent to prison. Being thus opposed by some unseen but powerful influence, we were unable to make much progress; yet we found a few objects of interest and value.

30th. We now paid off all our labourers, and divided the *opima spolia* into five lots, each gentleman taking that portion which fell to his share; but we afterwards effected several exchanges among ourselves. The annexed sketch, on which the numerals indicate tombs, may serve to convey some idea of the excavations.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 14, 15, and 16, had been opened before, though in No. 7 three rings remained. In No. 8 we found nothing. The tombs were very near the surface, some not having above a foot of soil, and broken stones above the large tiles that covered them, so that it is surprising they were not discovered sooner; more especially as part of the ground was planted with vines. The soil around was generally very poor and stony.



31st. Having been thwarted in our plans, my party dispersed, and I left Vathi to visit the northern part of the island, kindly furnished with a recommendation from Lieutenant Bibra to Captain Vretto, inspector of militia in the district of Oxi, requesting him to furnish me with diggers if I should wish to probe the spot. Skirting the port of Vathi, and part of the gulf of Molo, I ascended a rising ground, where appearances encouraged excavation. I was told that on one of the San Michon rocks, off the coast of Poli, there is a tomb cut in the cliff.

In a vineyard near the house of Dr. Pillica, the civil Capo di Governo, under the military commandant, I sketched two circular architectural fragments, which were lying among some loose ruins, called the House of Ulysses, probably at most a country seat of that sage warrior. In the evening, on arriving at the village of Oxi, I was courteously received by Captain Vretto.

1st January 1813. This morning the inspector offered to supply me with labourers after mid-day, and politely showed us the ruins near the village, where it struck me it would be very desirable to open a trench. It will show the nature of our work to mention that the whole island consists of a mass of secondary limestone, covered in part with a scanty and superficial soil, which is cultivated only by means of great labour. The rock exists mostly in loose, insulated fragments at the surface, the stony nature of which, though highly favourable to the growth of the currant-vine, the olive, and the almond-tree, was no small impediment to our tools. The spot which we pitched upon is called Paleócastro—near what Gell designates Homer's School—and belongs to a couple of old men, of about 68 and 70 years of age, who had never found more than two tombs there, both of which contained bits of human bones, and some small terra-cotta vases.





No.

1. A straight mass of stone-work, forming part of an ancient wall.
2. An ancient tomb.
3. Part of a circular building, called the Tower of the Guard, situated on the highest part of the ground.
4. A new cottage, called Porta, amidst vineyards.
5. A tomb.

After the middle of the day had passed, we were respectfully informed by Captain Vretto that he could not permit us to continue our excavations without his having express orders from the government. We were surprised by his thus suddenly breaking in upon our plans, and concluded that he must have received directions to that effect from head quarters. I therefore immediately dispatched a courier with a letter to the Commandant at Vathi, requesting that he would instruct Captain Vretto to permit us to resume our researches.

Meanwhile I visited the convent of the Arcangeli below Oxoi, and there found a marble tablet with the following inscription: ΑΓΗΜ<sup>Ο</sup>ΝΙΔΑ ΧΑΙΠΕ, or Argemonides, farewell. Also on another marble tablet, ΣΤΕΠΙΔΑ ΧΑΙΠΕ. The first word consisted of raised characters on a sunken bed; the second word was simply cut on the general face of the tablet.

2nd January. In the apparently old church of Aja Serranta, near Oxi, there, is an inscribed stone which may be interpreted Theodorus (son of) Eutyches (of or, son of) Phion, farewell.

ΘΕΟΔΩ  
ΡΟCEΥ  
ΤΥΧΟΥ  
ΦΙΩΝΟ.

A sepulchral marble in the church of the Evangelismos, bears the following inscription: ΕΛΑΦΙ ΕΛΑΦΙ ΛΑΜΙΣΚΕ ΧΑΙΠΕΤΕ—Elaphis Elaphis Lamiscus, fare ye well; besides a tablet of more elaborate workmanship, on which the name of Molotas, ΜΟΛΩΤΑ, as in the former instances, was cut in raised characters on a

sunken bed, while XAIPE was engraved on the general surface. In most of these marbles the two words appear to have been executed by different artists, as if the master had carved the most difficult, and left the easier to be carved by one of his assistants. There was also a fragment of an epitaph on Kleone, daughter of Phryno, in a small church at Oxoï, built only about twenty or thirty years ago, and dedicated to the sea-patron, Saint Nicholas :

ΚΛΕΟΜΗ  
ΦΡΥΝΩΝΟ'  
XAIPE.

About noon my messenger returned with a letter from the Commandant, informing me that the captain of the district had only done his duty in preventing the excavations, but that he should be instructed to allow of any *ocular observations* that I might please to make ; that excavations could not be permitted without an order from the general government of the Ionian Islands ; and that, even if permission had been granted to me, it had not been intended to extend it to the persons in company with me. He further informed me that the owner of the land that I had disturbed at Vathi, was now complaining to the government. This interference was vexing ; but when my disappointment had a little subsided, I determined on returning to the town the same evening. Captain Vretto advised me thereupon to proceed to the port of Frikes, where there was a boat which could be hired for the purpose ; and, after partaking of some refreshment at his house, I descended to the port, whence by rowing, and occasionally sailing, we arrived at the mole of Vathi between 11 and 12 o'clock at night.

My friends here told me that they had heard of the offensive orders sent to Oxoï, and were the more surprised as Captain Guitiera had, on the morning of my departure to the north, gone to our excavation ground with a party of labourers (for the ostensible purpose of repairing the roads) and had found some antiquities of value and beauty. This conduct stirring us up to opposition, we agreed to re-commence digging as early as possible the next morning, and immediately engaged some workmen for the purpose. I then prepared a letter to the Commandant for the morning, in reply to his received at Oxoï ; but, with Ulyssean forethought, we deemed it unadvisable that it should be delivered to him until we had left the town with our detachment of eight labourers, and were actually at work on our old ground, on Mount Aito. Here we found evidences of some hasty and awkward scrapings, which had been made subsequent to our systematic researches, so that we had to re-survey the ground, before we could distinguish where we ought to direct our efforts



with any prospect of success. We at last succeeded in finding some unexplored tombs, containing several elegant specimens of art.

My letter above alluded to informed the Commandant that his despatch sent to Oxi had obliged me to return to Vathi, where I learnt that during my absence he had been searching the ground which I had selected, though he had chosen to prohibit me from excavating at Oxi; that therefore, following his example, I had this morning resumed my operations on Mount Aito; and that I was quite willing to remunerate the padrone of the soil to the same extent that former excavators had done. After mid-day, and, as we supposed, in consequence of having held a privy council, the Commandant and the Primate of the island sent a member of their body, accompanied by an Albanian soldier armed to the teeth, to order us in the name of the government to suspend our work. We declared our willingness to obey the authorities, if he would produce any written document to that effect, or if he would give us such an order in writing; but this he declined to do, and left us, whereupon we continued exploring until evening admonished us to return home.

We then prepared a letter for the next morning to the Commandant, requesting that he would give us an order to Captain Vretto at Oxi, instructing him to allow us to make, not only ocular observations, but excavations, if we felt so disposed. We anticipated that this would produce either a permission or a refusal in writing.

4th January. Having despatched this letter, we resumed our labour at the Kastro of Aito, and were so fortunate as to find the little golden Siren, with extended wings, which will presently be described, and a ring, bearing a small winged Cupid, of silver. But whilst elated with this success, our high expectations were suddenly blighted by the appearance of another Albanian soldier, who brought the answer to our last communication, signed by the Commandant and the President of the Civil Government, prohibiting all excavations whatsoever without a special order from the general government established in Zante. On receiving this missive we agreed, though with regret, to stop our proceedings; and we wrote an answer to it on the spot in pencil, intimating our obedience to the prohibition. When we told the Albanian soldier of our intention, he left us.

In a few minutes afterwards, however, whilst we were reluctantly making up our minds to retire, we saw the Commandant and the President of the Council approaching. We therefore delivered the answer into his own hands, though not without civilly expostulating on the hardness of our case, the order being so discordant with his own practice. But he was very concise in his words and decided in his conduct, reminding us of the old Roman proverb, "*Stet pro ratione voluntas.*" I collected from what they slightly said, that they did not consider the articles

which we had found, to be of Grecian origin, but only of Roman date; and some expressions escaped them about its all being *robba di Chiesa*, Church property, or rather perquisites of the clergy.

After some more skirmishing conversation, they left us, as if satisfied of our intention to obey, and continued their ascent from the field of contention to the north-west, though still keeping us in the horizon of their view. We now sat down to our morning repast, brooding on our helpless condition; and then collecting our men and our tools we reluctantly retraced our steps down to the town, still in sight of Captain Guitiera<sup>a</sup> and the President, who hovered in our rear.

5th January. This morning we again assembled the respective shareholders, divided our spoils into lots, and drew for them; and one of my companions, the accomplished Baron Stackelberg, kindly made exact drawings of several of the most interesting articles, in my journal. Besides my own share, I obtained some of the other antiquities by purchase or exchange. I will now give a list of the most important of our exhumed relics:—

I. A magnificent flat Patera, or silver dish,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  high. The exterior is elegantly embossed in a radiated pattern, consisting of two circles of conical ornaments, sixteen of which occupy the interior circle, and thirty-two similar ones the outer. Between each of the sixteen cones, there are slender designs resembling the fleur-de-lys, described by lines of dots. The interior of the patera shows the whole pattern concave. The centre of the exterior is a slightly concave plane  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, surrounded by a delicate wavy ornament, and apparently intended to receive a stem, which the great flatness of the patera required in order to raise the ornamented sides into view. The drawing from which the illustration is engraved was executed by an able artist, Mr. R. B. Harraden of Cambridge. See the profile of this patera on Plate III. fig. 5, and its plan at fig. 6, where they are both represented on a scale of half their actual dimensions.

II. An elegantly embossed bell-shaped Calyx, or Cyathus, of the purest taste and finest execution, supposed to be unique. It is probably of the same epoch as No. 1; it is in height  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and the mouth  $3\frac{7}{8}$  in diameter, while the smaller end, on which it rests, is seven-eighths of an inch in diameter. The upper part of the vase projects boldly over the central portion, which is delicately engraved with vine leaves and bunches of grapes; this however somewhat interferes with its Greek claims. The lower part of the vase is richly embossed with six olive leaves radiating upwards, and alternating with six other leaves, whilst rising from between the leaves on slender stalks are twelve berries in high relief. This embossed portion is terminated by an

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<sup>a</sup> Captain Guitiera was an officer of the Corsicans in our pay. I recollect that you once informed me he afterwards obtained an unenviable notoriety in Ithaca, from having melted a number of silver vases which he had disinterred, in order to make spoons and forks of the metal: and that Colonel de Bosset assured you that he had actually seen the latter in use!



elegant little Grecian border less relieved, apparently for holding the cup by. In selecting a name for this vessel, we must keep in mind that Cyathus, or κύαθος, though applied to a drinking vessel used at table, was also applied to a small measure in Attica, equal to ten spoonsful, or one twelfth of a pint. On the other hand it is interesting to observe that Chalice, derived from Calyx, or κύλιξ, was so called from being turned on a wheel, *παρὰ τὸ κυλίεσθαι*, as Eustathius expresses himself; and an expert English silversmith pronounced that both the vase and the patera, from their very correct circular form, must have been regulated on some sort of turning lathe. The precision of the ornaments, with their exact equality of height, is acknowledged to be at least equal to anything that could be produced in the present day. We have now to allude to the lower portion of this vase having been gilt, not according to the mode now in use, of laying the gold on with mercury, but by carefully burnishing in a thin leaf of gold, the remains of which are very evident still, in the receding parts. As to the absence of a foot, it is not unusual to meet with some of the best designed terra-cotta cups that must have been quaffed off as soon as filled, since they could not stand at all. This will stand if undisturbed, and the slight hollow at the bottom is elegantly engraved with a star of leaves, disposed in two layers of four each, and behind these the points of eight other leaves fill up the little interstices. Nor can the other larger ornaments be well seen, unless the vase be reversed. The metal of all ancient implements is found to have more or less lost its tenacity, by long exposure to the atmosphere, or to the chemical agents contained in various soils. The silver of these articles shows in its corrosion the tendency of its particles to crystallize, by which it has become brittle, the crystals easily separating from one another. Thus we find brass wire, in the course of some years, loses much of its strength by mere exposure to the atmosphere from a similar re-arrangement of its particles. The same effect is experienced in silver wire, if only retained in a heated state for many hours together. See Plate II. fig. 4, where the drawing is of the same size with the original.



III. A pair of silver Ear-rings, two inches in diameter; one is perfect, opening and shutting by two hooks. The ring is neatly embellished by three globules, with elevated circles surrounding them like equators, besides a large drop-ornament adorned with silver filigree crossing at right angles, and a small decoration resembling the Arabian integer 8 on three of its facets, the fourth being plain; the upper surface is pyramidal, the lower is flat. I found it at a village between Vathi and Oxoi—Anoi on the flank of Mount Neritos—and it is carefully drawn here to the actual size.

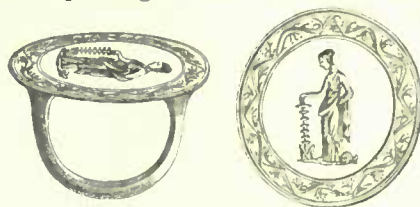
IV. A silver Finger-ring or Signet, bearing on the upper part an elliptic piece of glass or crystal in a state of decomposition, turning on the wire that passes through it, as an axis. It bears indications of having been engraved with a monogram, and was entire when first discovered, but has gradually become fragile; this represents it:—



V. Another silver Finger-ring, attached to a circular silver plate, rather smaller than a shilling, on the centre of which is engraved a little winged Cupid shooting an arrow from his bow. Around the edge of the field is a wreath; the workmanship however is second-rate, and from the style is probably Roman. The ring was found complete, but has since been broken, being very brittle:—



VI. A gold Ring of more solid fabric than either of the foregoing, and rather larger, but of the same form. The engraved device is a graceful female with a bare head, standing erect, one arm enveloped in the folds of her dress, while the other hand is pouring incense on a slender altar. A zigzag garland surrounds the verge of the field. The locality would suggest that it may represent Penelope sacrificing to some tutelar deity, and invoking it to conduct Ulysses home in safety; a conceit which might hold, even were the work decided to be Roman. Here are the *incuse* and profile of the ring:—



VII. A curved metal Band covered with gold leaf,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, and half an inch wide; the gold is fluted lengthwise, with filagree at each end, where similar pieces have been joined on by hinges of three rings each, with a gold wire passed through them. One of these is in perfect play, attached to about half an inch of the next link; but at the other end the hinge is broken off short. It may have been a head ornament for confining the hair. Plate II. fig. 4.

VIII. A beautifully perfect gold Neck-chain, 13 inches long, consisting of double links, each link having been folded in two and then laid across, bending the two loops of the upper portion downwards, and those of the lower link upwards. At the two ends are small gold lion's heads adorned with filagree, one holding in its mouth a garnet, to which a hook is attached, while in the other lion's mouth there is a small ring to receive the hook. Plate II. fig. 3.

IX. An exquisite little Siren or Genius, also of pure gold,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch high, with wings five-eighths of an inch long, delicately feathered, and meeting behind above the head. The upper part of the figure is that of a female, with an interesting countenance and the hair in curls: the lower limbs are those of a bird, even to having a fan-shaped feathered tail, reaching down to the knees. The feet are three-clawed, and stand upon a circular pedestal. The arms, of inferior workmanship to the rest, rather appear to have been superadded. The right hand holds a fragment, probably of a musical instrument, the left hand approaches to it. To the shoulders is affixed a slender hook, also of gold, half an inch long, indicating that it was suspended as an ornament of dress. As the whole agrees well with the descriptions of this mysterious allegory, and being found in the vicinity of Leucadia, may we be allowed to deem this the historical Siren Leucosia? Plate II. figs. 1 and 2.



X. Various leaves of fine beaten gold, which formed a funereal chaplet, as found in ancient tombs elsewhere, especially in some among the ruins of Tyndaris in Sicily. Eighteen appear to represent laurel leaves; ten resemble oak leaves; nine were probably intended for olive leaves. Some of these have stalks fixed to them, by the wire passing in and out of two holes. The workmanship is rude, and the gold has been used sparingly, though very pure. One leaf was rounded, with a pattern stamped in the centre, perhaps to represent the laurel-rose flower: it has been intended for a brooch, and the mark where the pin was soldered remains, the thinness of the metal occasioning it to appear in the front as well as at the back. The laurels have not lost the gold where form and drawing had been attended to; but it is turned down, and where the stem passes through the two holes the superfluous gold is doubled over to confine and hold the stem. Sixteen of the above-mentioned leaves are in my possession; but a golden chaplet was also found, fifteen inches in length, of which the leaves resembled the myrtle, and were placed by pairs, *oppositi folia*—



XI. Three elegant little terra-cotta Heads, the face of one of which is about half an inch long, that of another an inch, and that of the best an inch and a half. They were probably votive offerings: for the largest, see Plate II. fig. 2.

XII. Some Sepulchral Vases, of various forms and materials:—

1. Part of a silver vase, of fine and delicate workmanship; the diameter of the widest portion was  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and when whole it must have been probably as beautiful as No. 11.

2. A hemispherical silver cup, three inches in diameter, one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness; and though quite plain, the work good.

3. A low silver perfume-vase,  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches high, and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. The upper part or mouth is  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch in diameter, whilst at about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch below it, on the inside, there is a circular ridge projecting a quarter of an inch, but not affecting the exterior, which is convex and plain, with only two circular lines round it. It is very much in form like the cap of Ulysses represented on the coins of Ithaca.

4. Part of the circular cover of a vase in bronze,  $3\frac{7}{8}$  inches in semi-diameter. The exterior appears to have been worked in circles and semi-circles, and radii, in fluted sections  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch

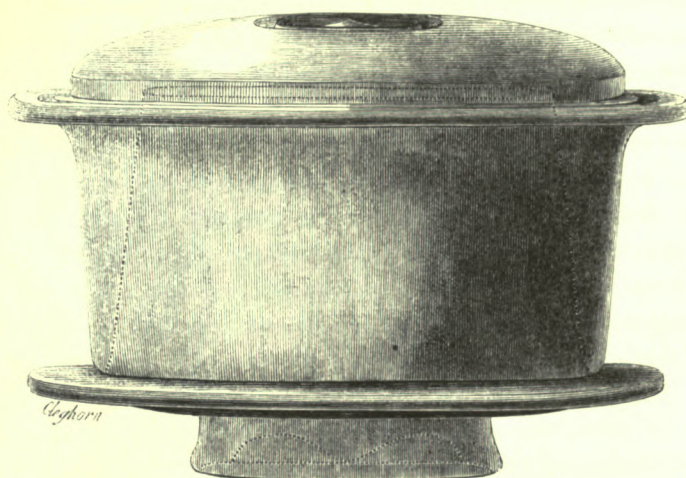


apart at the circumference. On one part of the outside, a piece of bronze was clumsily attached to it by two bronze nails.

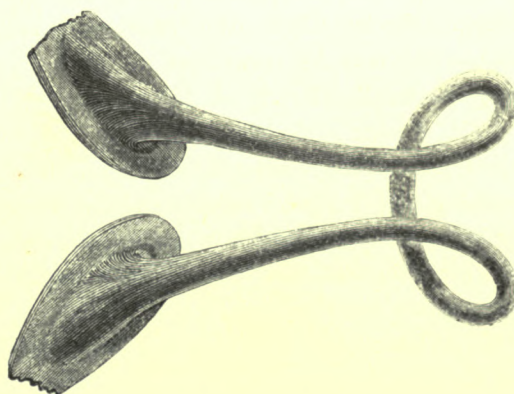
5. Portions of the cover of a circular leaden vase, very thin and fragile, with a knob at the top. The diameter is 4 inches.

6. Fragments of Arragonite vases, of very fine texture, and various thickness, and more or less transparent; bearing indications of a turning lathe.

7. A singularly formed vase of terra-cotta, the edge of the lid reaching down to the base. It is  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches high with the lid; its greatest diameter is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches: while its base is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch. It is worked with circular rims. It was found in the Roman tombs at the foot of the hill, below the castle, and is here shown of the actual size:—



8. The beautifully shaped handle of a silver vase, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length: besides which, both bronze handles and terra-cotta fragments of other vases were found at and about the spot where this was exhumed:—



9. A small vase of dark blue glass, 3 inches in height and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in its greatest diameter. It is surrounded with four yellow bands, two above and two below, with wavy lines between of yellow, blue, and green. It is represented of the actual size on Plate II. fig. 1.

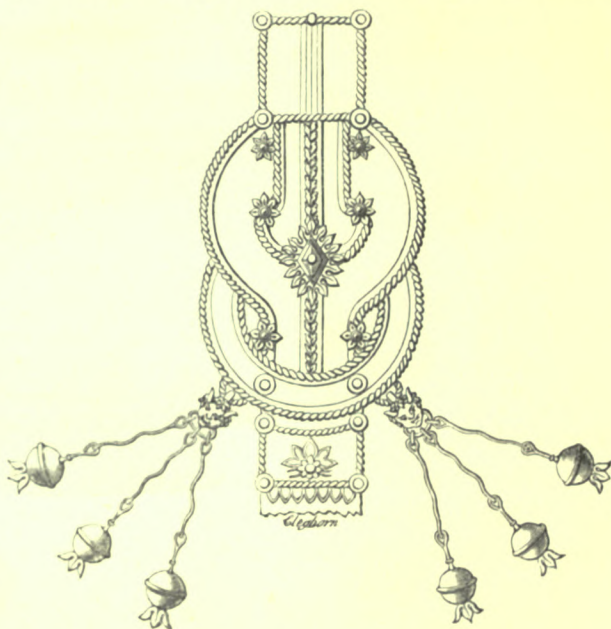
10. Another was found of the same dark blue transparent vitreous substance, and painted in the same style. But there are two small projections in the widest part, as are seen in larger



vases, whereby to help to lift them. And, towards the foot, there is an oblique streak that twists twice round the vase, and then terminates at the base.

12. Another glass vase, but of a totally different form from the foregoing. It is stained of a purplish ground, with yellow waving streaks around, that when held up to a strong light have a golden hue. Several white streaks are intermixed with the yellow zigzags. This elegant specimen is in perfect condition, and its form is peculiar, from having eighteen small longitudinal flutings. Similar co-called lacrymatories are found in Attica.

XIII. A portion of a superb gold ornament, which probably formed part of a necklace. It consists of a band of gold, three-eighths of an inch wide, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, with an ornament like a Gordian knot in the centre, exquisitely adorned with garnets, rosettes, and pendant chains with little poppy-like balls suspended from them. It is of admirable workmanship. In the middle of the central part, which is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch broad, is a lozenge-shaped garnet, cut into four pyramidal facets, set in filagree; and at equal distances from it are four garnets, in their natural shape, with seven petals of gold around them, and again two others with six petals around them are set lower down towards what may be called the base of the ornament. Both ends of this elegant knot have been broken off from something else. The pendant chains are in two groups of three each, and each group united to the main body by a small gold head, which may be considered as that of the Indian Bacchus.<sup>b</sup>



XIV. A pure gold chain  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, terminated at each end by a conical ornament, and a little bull's head, increasing the whole length to  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches. This necklace was not, strictly speaking, a chain, but a flexible plait of fine threads, equalling in workmanship the products of Venice or Trichinopoly. In each of the cones was set a blue stone, while one bull held in its mouth a ring, and the other a hook to fit into it. On the whole, it resembled a good deal the necklace described under No. VIII.

XV. Three folds of a gold serpent, forming a Finger-ring. The half fold near the head, and the same space near the tail, are ornamented with a number of small dots or punctures.

XVI. A gold Finger-ring, formed of a sort of snake with a very tapering tail, ending in a

<sup>b</sup> An inscription being all that was wanting to render this a perfect bijou, a fanciful one was quickly devised; and we read on the under side, lightly engraved, ΣΑΦΦΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΑΜΙΑΣ; a discovery that soon spread far beyond our little antiquarian circle!

small lion's head, bent round so as to touch the larger head, which also resembles that of a lion and is elaborately worked. The body consists of a number of spiral double threads of gold, of the finest texture, like filagree (*fila grana*).

XVII. The handle of some iron implement, but to a little ring on its edge is attached a gold wire, with three beads resembling laurel berries on one side of the ring, and seventeen on the other, each end of the wire terminating in a garnet, and a golden hook beyond it.

XVIII. In the tomb where the above fragment was found, there were also many others, both of iron and bronze, and a complete strigil, as used in their baths, and exhibiting a curious mode of splicing the blade to the handle, similar to what may be observed in the handle of another that was found in the same vicinity.

XIX. A thin plate of bronze, 11 inches long, by  $3\frac{5}{8}$  wide, curved at the two ends, and having a thicker rim along one side: also two bronze nails, and an inexplicable little iron instrument found at Oxi; it is nine inches long, and a portion of it bent at right angles to the height of three. Perhaps a pick-lock!

XX. A circular lamina of fine thin silver  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter, adorned with a female head in high relief, rising to five-eighths of an inch above the lamina, which is partly broken. The expression of the countenance is dignified and contemplative. The hair is parted in front and collected into a knot on the crown of the head. She is moreover adorned with a necklace, and on the right side of the head on the lamina is an object not unlike a bishop's mitre. I found this among the ruins at Oxi: may it not be denominated a portrait of Penelope, till disproved by better authority? Plate II. fig. 3.

XXI. A silver pin, neatly formed, three inches long, broken at the head.

XXII. A well-shaped female arm, in terra-cotta.

XXIII. A beautiful female figure of red terra-cotta, standing in a graceful position: the right arm, resting on an altar or half column, is partly concealed by a well-expressed drapery, which also envelopes the left hand and right thigh, but leaves the foot visible. The hair is elegantly folded round the head, terminating behind in a knot.

XXIV. A ram of terra-cotta, about 3 inches in height, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in length. The head is cleverly executed; and the whole possesses spirit.

XXV. The tail of a hog, or wild boar, eight inches long, of a reddish terra-cotta.

XXVI. Two terra-cotta tiles, 39 inches long by 13 wide, and about one inch thick, bent in the shape of shields, and found at the bottom of one of the tombs with the concave part upwards, apparently intended to have contained the remains of the deceased, when two of these tiles were placed end to end.

XXVII. Some fragments of glass; the larger one about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch long, light blue, and concavo-convex, as if the remains of a vase; whilst the smaller pieces are white and very thin.

XXVIII. A bullet of lead, used in slings, of the usual form and size.

XXIX. A few coins and medals also were found, and among them six of silver.

2 Tetradrachms of Corinth in good preservation, with Minerva's head on the obverse, and a Pegasus on the reverse.

1 Didrachm of Corinth; *ob.* a female head, *rev.* a Pegasus.



- 1 Drachm of Sicyon; *ob.* a flying dove, *rev.* head of Apollo ΣΙ . . . .
- 1 Didrachm; *ob.* a female figure, *rev.* prow of a ship.
- 1 Didrachm; *ob.* a Pegasus, *rev.* a broad cross with three dots.
- 1 Didrachm; *ob.* head of Minerva, *rev.* Hercules struggling with the Nemean lion.
- 2 Bronze coins of Acarnania.\*

XXX. In addition:—six lachrymatories of terra-cotta; four small lamps; fourteen small terra-cotta vases of ordinary manufacture; and four bronze mirrors, similar to those found in Greece and Egypt.

Such were the fruits obtained, when we received the vexatious notice aforesaid; and we deemed it proper to succumb to the mandate, although its tenour was harsh and its justice questionable. But the authorities did not rest satisfied with the prohibition which they had issued against us personally; they even extended their anger to those who had countenanced us, and on the 6th of January we found that Lieutenant Bibra had been placed under arrest, in consequence of the aid he had afforded, and of his having made use of some incautious language in defending our measures. On the same day, two centinels were posted on Mount Aito (ἄετος), to guard the site of the tombs from our pick axes and spades, and everything betokened that the interruption to our proceedings was complete and determined. Among other justifications of their conduct on this occasion, made by the chiefs of the local government, was the extraordinary argument that our attempts were sacrilegious, and therefore deeply wicked; that we had no right whatever thus to disturb the repose of the dead, or to displace their bones, nor to touch the several effects so piously deposited with them; the latter being *bond fide* the indisputable property of the holy Church. In answer to this, we endeavoured to obviate the force of their allegation, by assuring the venerable Primati that in the days when these things were interred there was actually no such thing as the Chiesa Cattolica Apostolica in existence, and that, to the best of our belief, the very articles in question had been thrown into these receptacles of the departed by their friends and relations, as tokens of esteem and affection, or rather as idolatrous offerings to Charon and the Manes. To this defence a deaf ear was turned, the administrators of the *lex loci* remained obdurate, and, as neither party appeared at all inclined to be “convinced against their will,” we forthwith made preparations for quitting the island. Yet we conducted ourselves with temper, and were careful while expostu-

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\* It is conjectured that other coins were found; but which, by accident or otherwise, were not brought into the common stock.

lating to manifest regret rather than anger. Still the excitement was unusually animated for so quiet a town ; and we found that a very respectable party supported our representations and favoured our views.

Before quitting Vathi, to embark at Porto Frikes for Santa Maura, I wrote a letter to General Airey in Italian, that Captain Guitiera might read it, and requested him to forward it to Zante. In this I stated my proceedings, and how repeatedly my researches had been thwarted ; wherefore I entreated of him to issue directions that in future travellers should be allowed the same privilege in Ithaca as in the other Ionian islands, namely, that of being permitted to explore such ground as they might deem eligible for the purpose of throwing light upon local story ; and by the collateral evidence thus produced, strengthen the great chain of universal history.

I must here dwell a moment longer. One of our party was a most deserving but truly unfortunate traveller, namely, the late excellent Baron von Stackelberg. This gentleman was much chagrined at the interruption we encountered ; and, after having borne a part in the altercation just mentioned, quitted us to go to Oxi. Shortly after he left us one of the Greeks brought his portfolio to me, which he had accidentally left behind him in the hurry and turmoil ; whereupon I engaged a bold youth (*παλικάρι*) to follow him instantly with it. It was with great satisfaction that I learned the Baron received it in perfect safety ; but the valuable contents were destined to be ultimately lost to him and to the world, for afterwards, in crossing the Gulf of Volo, he unhappily fell into the hands of a gang of those atrocious pirates in whom the muse of Byron delighted. These merciless thieves treated him with every indignity, rifled his baggage, stripped him of his clothes, fed him scurvily, and tore his beautiful drawings to pieces before his face. They then demanded the sum of sixty thousand piastres as a ransom for his person ; and, for the purpose of obtaining their end by terror, made a display of divers instruments of torture, under the most cruel threats. Happily there were then in Athens such men as Baron Haller, Messrs. Parker, Thomas Smart Hughes, Cockerell, and others ; who, on hearing of their friend's captivity, held an immediate consultation in the house of Mons. Fauvel, the French consul. On thoroughly considering all the bearings of the case, it was unanimously agreed that this enormous sum was not only too great to be raised by them, but that such an exaction ought to be resisted upon every principle of policy, as touching the interests of present and future travellers in the Archipelago. The affair was one, which demanded the exercise of great address and delicacy in its management : it was, however, followed up most earnestly, and after much wire-drawn negotiation with the lawless villains, the Baron was finally released for eleven thousand piastres ; but he was delivered over in a sadly emaciated condition,



enfeebled by hard usage, unwholesome food, bad air, and a fever brought on by the injuries wantonly inflicted on him by those inhuman wretches.

When I had completed my arrangements, and taken a peaceful leave of all parties, I finally bade adieu to the kingdom of Ulysses, and made the best of my way to Leucadia, Prévisa, and other interesting sites. While thus occupied, I could not but be struck with the striking contrast between the local authorities of two adjacent places, under the same flag, in their treatment of visitors: for, on my arrival in Santa Maura, I was not only very kindly received by Colonel McCombe the military commandant, his lady, and his staff officers, but was also encouraged in my inquiries, and politely offered any assistance which might be required in pursuing antiquarian investigations. This portion of my undertaking was therefore made under every facility; and I may, on another occasion, submit the results for your consideration. Meantime it may suffice to say, that I retain a very lively recollection of the aid I received, and the courtesies which I then experienced.

At the close of my Ionian tour, I returned to Zante, where I was much gratified at learning that General Airey had sent orders to Ithaca, directing that travellers in future should not be prevented from excavating, provided only that they first obtained the consent of the proprietor of the land. Thus I had the satisfaction, as far as my humble means would admit, of having supported and confirmed the presumed rights of classical scholars, to prosecute their antiquarian researches in those countries the former authors and heroes of which are still the theme of general admiration, after the lapse of two thousand, or even three thousand years!

Having thus finished the relation of my adventures in Ithaca, according to the promise I made you, I have the pleasure to subscribe myself,

My dear Sir,

Your very faithful friend,

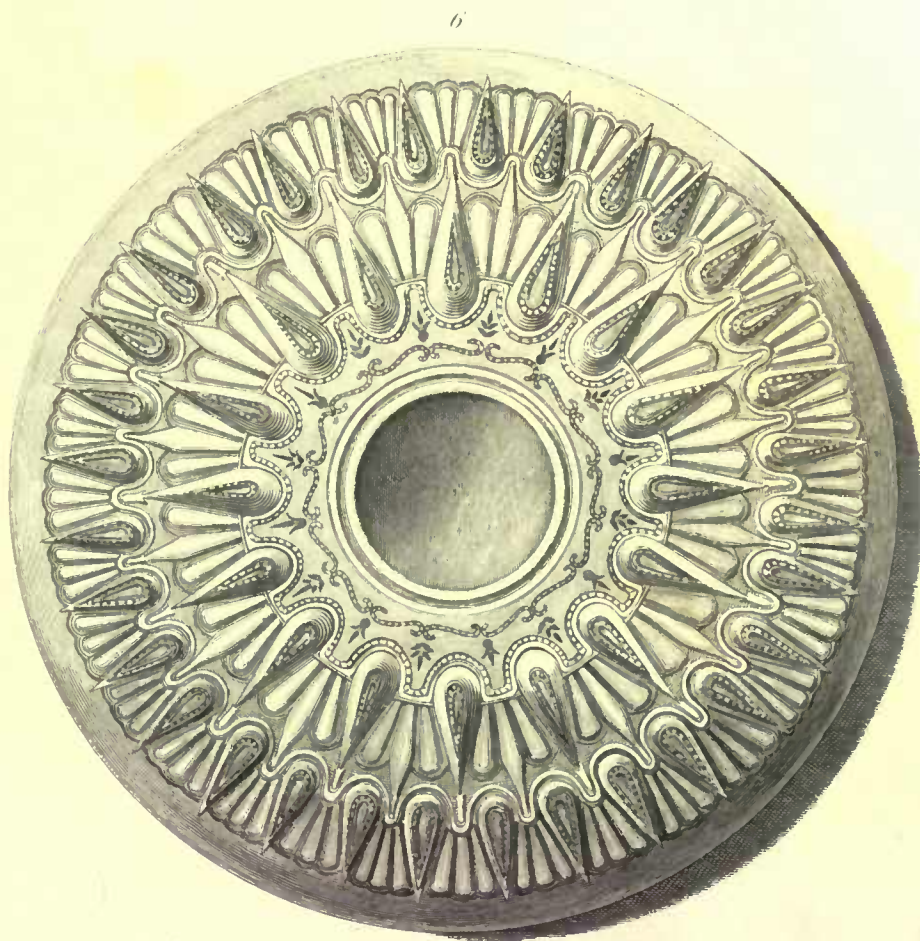
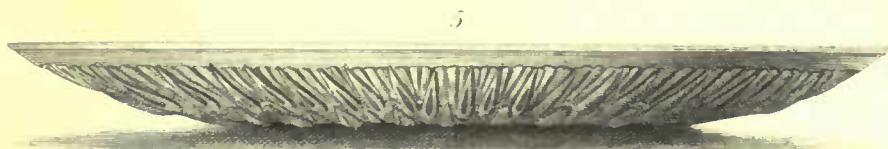
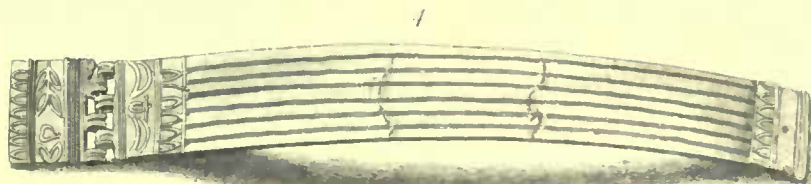
JOHN LEE.



*Relics discovered by D.<sup>r</sup> Lee at Ithaca.*











IV.—*Observations upon the History of one of the old Cheshire Families.* By Sir  
FORTUNATUS DWARRIS, B.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

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Read February 24th, March 2nd, and 9th, 1848.

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ORMEROD, in his History of Cheshire, mentions Grosvenor, Davenport, and Brereton as "three grantees who can be proved by ancient deeds to have existed at or near the Conquest, though unnoticed in Domesday." Of these the family least favoured by fortune in later times (the peerage and the baronetage in the Brereton family having both become extinct, and the heirship in lands and manors in all the principal English lines having descended to females), was, during the earliest centuries after the Conquest, among the most distinguished in the palatinate, and, by its fortunate and splendid marriages, became entitled to prefer for its issue the highest claims, even to ducal and regal descent. This state of the case, and a natural desire to uphold ancient valour and renown against the mere caprices of fortune, renders what can be collected of personal anecdote, local tradition, or the biography of the members of such a family (and not the mere bead-roll of its pedigree which is printed in local histories), a suitable subject of archaeological inquiry, often suggestive of useful topics, and sometimes replete with interesting matter.

The Breretons appear to have arrived in England from Normandy with William the Conqueror, under Gilbert or Gislebert de Venables, surnamed *Venator* (the hunter), afterwards Baron of Kinderton, in the retinue of that grim leader, Hugh Lupus (the wolf), afterwards Earl of Chester.<sup>a</sup> The names of Venables and of Breton (but not of Brereton) are to be found in the roll of Battle Abbey, a sufficiently cited and very memorable list of the names of Norman barons, knights, and esquires who were present at the battle of Hastings, which was hung up at Battle Abbey, and preserved with religious care by the monks, who had enough to do to pray their founders out of purgatory, and to save the souls of such bloody sinners.

<sup>a</sup> Harl.MS. 1925. Brereton,—"*temp. Hugonis, cognom. Lupi, com. Palat. Cestr. post Conquest. primi, ex dono magni regis Gulielmi Com.*"



After the Conquest the manor of Brereton (called *Bretone* in Domesday), was one of the six dependencies of the barony of Kinderton. The Norman grantee of this barony was supposed to have been a younger brother of Stephen Earl of Blois. The Venables arms are, "Azure, two bars argent; Crest, on a wreath a wyvern argent, pierced with an arrow, devouring a child proper." The legend is that "A lyneal descendant from Sir Gislebert Venables, cousin-german to Kynge William the Conqueror, who came with him into England, slew a terrible dragon at Moston Mere, at which instant time the sayd dragon was devouring of a child." In this satisfactory way is the half-devoured child proper, the singular crest of the Venables, accounted for. The principal branch of the Venables is merged in the Vernons of Shipbrook, another highly distinguished Norman family, of which Lord Vernon, Baron of Kinderton, is the representative. The ancient local historian forcibly observes, that, "however light the Cheshire honours may appear at present, yet while Lord Vernon enjoys his more modern honours in common with many of his peers, with regard to his ancient barony of Kinderton he is most honourably and singularly *peerless*."

"Very shortly after this period," says Ormerod, "the manor of Brereton was granted to a family which assumed the local name, and was probably descended from the same stock as the Norman grantee of the barony of Kinderton, if an opinion may be formed from the arms which the Breretons subsequently used, "Argent, two bars sable," differing only in tincture from the coat which the barons of Kinderton had adopted. This theory, as to the family connection and use of arms, seems rational, and is probably well founded. And the more so, as it is found in the pedigree that the Church patronage of the Venables provided for such of the Breretons as took holy orders. Thus, *temp. Edw. I*, we find that Gilbert Brereton was rector of Astbury on the presentation of Roger de Venables; while, in 1344, Hamo Brereton was rector of Brereton.

Again, (what seems a decisive test of consanguinity,) it is ascertained that, upon any intermarriage of the Venables with the Breretons, a dispensation was required.

Upon these grounds, both solid and plausible, it is not unreasonably inferred that the first grantee of the manor of Brereton, who assumed the local name, was a Venables, or a nameless scion of that house. For, in early days, the landless man of gentle blood was compelled to find a lord who would accept his fealty. To him the youthful aspirant to military honours remained attached till he gained a grant of lands in requital of his services. If, by distinguished exertions in the battle-field, he won his spurs, he usually received a territorial qualification to enable him to

support his rank. Then had the new landed proprietor, what the attentive poet, who marked every "change of many-coloured life," has spoken of as concomitant,

"A local habitation—and a name."

"For," says Ormerod, "the manner of those ages was, to style men from the places where they lived, and for their posterity afterwards wholly to retain the local name."<sup>a</sup> The title of the feud was written over (*sur—super*) the name; thus:

|          |        |
|----------|--------|
| Brereton | Dutton |
| de       | de     |
| Ralph.   | Hugh.  |

Upon the subject of surnames, and the arbitrary and capricious mode of their adoption in the age next immediately succeeding the Norman era, an illustration is derived in Camden's "Remains concerning Britain" (edition 1637, p. 141), from the archives and muniments of the very family now under consideration. "For variety and alteration of names in one familie, upon diverse respects," says the truly learned Camden, "I will give you one Cheshire example for all, out of an antient roll belonging to Sir William Brereton of Brereton, which I saw twenty years since. Not long after the Conquest William Belward, lord of the moitie of Malpas, had two sons, Dan David of Malpas, surnamed the Clerke, and Richard.

"Dan David had William de Malpas; his second son, named Philip Gogh; one of the issue of whose eldest sons took the name of Egerton;<sup>b</sup> a third, of David Golborne; and one, Goodman.

<sup>a</sup> "With those whose merits entitled them to the possession of lands," says a delightful writer of the romantic school, who speaks in the very spirit of chivalry, and may be fairly cited as a veritable ancient, "surnames were generally taken from the soil. This mode of taking titles from the soil placed the possessor of an ancient territorial name in some sort beyond the reach of fortune. This soil might, by any of the thousand vicissitudes of human affairs, be transferred to other hands; be owned by stranger blood;—but now there was something of which accident could not deprive him: the territorial name remained; linked indissolubly and for ever with all the ancient ennobling associations. Few, indeed, are the feudal territorial names that have survived the ordeal of the eight centuries since the Conquest;—the destroying Crusaders; the exterminating wars of the Roses; the jealous axe of the Plantagenets and the Tudors; but those few are the natural nobility of the land."—Warburton, *Footsteps of the Normans*, vol. ii. p. 182.

<sup>b</sup> Hence it appears that the noble family of Egerton originally sprung from David de Malpas, lord of a moiety of the barony of Malpas. Elena, sister and coheirress of David de Egerton, having married Sir William Brereton of Brereton in 1368, the elder line of the Egertons were afterwards represented by the Breretons of Brereton Hall, and, as was then added, of Malpas Castle. Much of the Brereton property eventually reverted to the Egertons, partly by devise. See post, Shocklack and Malpas Hall Breretons, and Breretons of Tatton. The Golbornes of Golborne David and of Overton, were descendants of the same David de Malpas. The four martlets, the arms of the Golbornes of Overton, vary little from



"Richard had three sons, Thomas de Cotgrave, William de Overton, and Richard Little, who had two sons, Ken Clarke and John Richardson. Herein you may note alteration of names in respect of *habitation*, in Egerton, Cotgrave, Golburne, and Overton; in respect of *colour*, in Gogh (that is, red); in respect of *qualitie*, in Goodman; of *stature*, in Little; of *learning*, in Ken Clarke; of the father's Christian name, in Richardson; all descending from William Belward lord of Malpas, which one house, the gentlemen of so different names (Egerton, Golborne, Cotgrave, Overton, Gogh, Little) would not be easily induced to believe they were descended from." It is not proposed to pursue this subject of the extensive ramification of surnames further in this place, but it is one of curious inquiry.<sup>a</sup>

To return to the house of Brereton. Whether the first of the family, heard of in England, were a Venables, or a youthful kinsman engaged in the Norman adventure, with a promise of provision and advancement out of the territorial spoils, and not entitled to a surname till he acquired a local habitation, must remain uncertain. What we first find as a fact is, that in the reign of William Rufus Ralph de Brereton witnessed a deed of Gilbert de Venables, and was therefore most probably his esquire, attendant upon his person. Again, another Ralph de Brereton appears as a witness to the grant of Marton in 1176. He is found in a pedigree in the Harl. MS. mentioned as Sir Ralph Brereton. Then comes William du Brereton, with whom the Brereton pedigree in Ormerod commences.<sup>b</sup>

The allegiance, dependence, tie, or bond which bound the Breretons to the Venables', whatever it was (and it clearly was more than the ordinary territorial or

those of the Birds; of which family they married a coheirress, with whom they had considerable estates.—Inq. p. m. 10 Eliz. "Edward Golborne held a capital messuage in Overton from Sir William Brereton by military service, with lands in Wich Milbank, Aston, Overton, Carden, Edge, and five other parishes." An extant letter of the first Lord Brereton, dated 26th January, 1624, lays claim to descent from Randolph 6th Earl of Chester, through Dan David de Malpas, son of William Belward, and Tanghurst, sister of the said Randolph, and refers to the quarterings in his coat of arms.—Harl. MSS. British Museum.

<sup>a</sup> And there is no lack of materials. Thus in Ireland it was enacted, in 1465, in the earliest parliament of the Pale, that "every Irishman dwelling in the counties of Kildare, Meath, Louth, and Dublin, should go like unto an Englishman; should shave his beard above the mouth; be within one year sworn the liegeman of the King, and take to him an English surname of one town, as Chester; or colour, as white, black, brown; or art or science, as smith or carpenter; or office, as cook or butler; and that he and his issue should thenceforth use this name under pain of forfeiture."

<sup>b</sup> Properly thus:—

| Sir Ralph Brereton, 1176.=                          |  |   |  |
|---|--|---|--|
| Margery dan. of<br>Ralph Fitz-Peter<br>of Tarhaunt. | =William du Brereton,<br>miles. temp. John<br>and Henry III. | Gilbert, second son, rector<br>of Astbury, on the presen-<br>tation of Roger de Venables. | Isolda, m. to Gilbert de Stoke,<br>to whom her father gave<br>Brindley in free marriage. |

feudal obligation of military service), lasted in its integrity till 1336, when it was almost entirely bought off. In that year Hugh Venables, Baron of Kinderton, released to Sir William Brereton his right in all services by which the said William Brereton held lands from him within the demesne or fee of Brereton, except the service due for one knight's fee. Soon after this, in the time of King Richard I. Sir William Brereton procured the grant of a weekly market and of an annual fair to the township of Brereton. About the same time the village church was built. Such was the date of the old church of Brereton, though it was only in the reign of Henry VIII. that it was made parochial, instead of continuing a chapel of ease to Astbury, and a domestic chapel to the Brereton family; and at this time the advowson of the rectory was attached to the manor.

In the next generation the alliance of Sir Ralph Brereton and Ada Hastings<sup>a</sup> is thus spoken of in Collins's Peerage, article "Cholmondeley:"—"Through the marriage with the Breretons the Cholmondeleys claimed royal descent. For David Huntingdon was third son of Henry Earl of Huntingdon, son of David King of Scotland (the earldom of Huntingdon being for some time in the royal line of Scotland:)"—for which Dugdale is cited. And, maternally, Ada Hastings was descended from the Earls royal of Chester, her mother being eldest daughter of Hugh Kevelioc, Earl of Chester, and sister and heir of Randal Earl of Chester.

The Breretons, indeed, prefer a claim to royal descent in Normandy, Scotland, and England. The first through Gislebert de Venables, a relation of William the Conqueror and of Stephen of Blois; also through Randolph and Kevelioc, Earls of Chester, who possessed *jura regalia* in the palatinate of Chester; the second through David Earl of Huntingdon, son of William King of Scotland; and, thirdly, by the marriage of the first Lord Brereton with the daughter of the Earl of Rutland, who was lineally descended from King Edward III.

When this paper was first read before the Society of Antiquaries, the descent of the Breretons from the royal blood of Scotland was mentioned as a mere claim of the Breretons and Cholmondelys, to be found advanced in Collins, and supported only by a reference to Dugdale. But a copy of the patent, or grant of creation, to Sir William Brereton of the barony of Brereton. &c. has since been procured, and in that instrument such royal descent in Scotland is expressly recited and recognised in the following terms:—"We, considering with mature deliberation the free and true services of Sir William Brereton, and that he is sprung from an ancient, noble, and most renowned family, inasmuch as he is descended, through many illustrious

<sup>a</sup> Ada, dau. of David Earl of Hunt.—Sir Ralph Brereton, of Brereton, miles, A.D. 1275. ingdon, and relict of Henry Hastings.

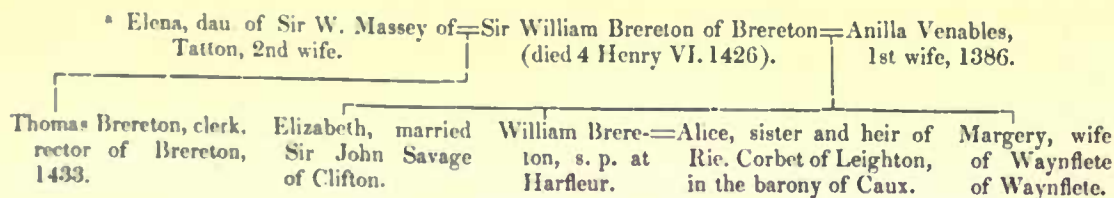
A sister of Sir Ralph Brereton married Thurston de Smethwick, who had Smethwick in free marriage.



ancestors, from Ada sister of John, surnamed Scot, seventh Earl of Chester, and daughter of David Earl of Angus and Huntingdon, Lord of Galloway, within our kingdom of Scotland, younger brother of William, then King of Scotland," &c.

This claim of the Breretons is therefore substantiated by the declaration of the King himself; but surely the proud and ennobling claim of the Breretons is (agreeably to a modern French expression) to be the sons of their own doings; is, to the personal merit of their own distinguished military services in almost every age,—“*quæ fecimus ipsi*.” To have served with glory, under Edward the Black Prince, in Spain; to have been distinguished in the wars of Henry V. in France;<sup>a</sup> to have been in the reign of Henry VI. a victorious governor of Caen (whose son lies buried at Harfleur): to have been made a knight banneret on the field for gallant services at Terouenne and Tournay—such are some of the notices that successively occur as the pedigree advances: “*atque ea nostra voco*.” Though not less crowned with victory in Ireland and in England, let not the banners, stained with brothers’ blood in unnatural civil conflicts, be unfurled with equal exultation. Brave men were opposed to brave men on these latter occasions in what each considered a just cause; and honour to the true-hearted, and the straight-forward, of either party! Sir William Brereton, the Parliamentary general, is spoken of by Clarendon with great respect, and by all Cheshire historians with the warmest admiration. Lord Brereton, on the other hand, supported with all his available resources in money and in men, the unsuccessful party, was ruined by his devotion to the cause of his King, and was rewarded, after the Restoration, only by a joint lord-lieutenancy of a county.

In the case of the son of the possessor last-named before this digression, a neighbouring knight, Sir Richard de Sandbach, had grant of the wardship of William Brereton from William de Venables, Baron of Kinderton (exercising the known right of a superior lord), to marry such William or his younger brother Gilbert Brereton (if William died under age) to one of the legitimate daughters of the said Richard de Sandbach. Such were the precious servitudes of our ancestors; and great must have been the docility and tractability of the adults (and it is a remarkable trait in feudal manners) in submitting their inclinations in the serious article of marriage, to the inscrutable wisdom of their seniors. Accordingly we find that



the heir of Brereton, William, was (*volens volens*) married to the daughter of Sir Richard de Sandbach.

In the next generation, Sir William Brereton of Brereton, Knight, 15 Edw. II. 1321, married Roesia, daughter of Ralph de Vernon, of the family of the ancient barons of Shipbrook. In the case of his grandson, who succeeded him, the next Sir William Brereton, by his first marriage (27 Edw. III.) with the daughter of Philip, and sister and ultimate heir of David de Egerton, representative of the Norman barons of Malpas, derived the greater part of the barony of Malpas, with other large possessions; but at the time of the marriage (David de Egerton being then probably living) the portion of the lady was only 100*l.*, for which Sir William Brereton gave his receipt, still preserved at Egerton.

By his second marriage, Sir William had a son, Randal, the founder of the Malpas *Hall* (contra-distinguished from the Malpas Castle) branch of the Breretons, which family afterwards attained to great rank, wealth, and consideration. By the same marriage, Sir William Brereton had a daughter, the wife of William Cholmondeley. Cholmondeley dying in his father-in-law's lifetime, in consideration of the sum of 661*l.*, payable to the Crown in seven years, Sir William Brereton (in lieu of some powerful stranger) obtained from the King the guardianship of his own grandson (the heir Richard Cholmondeley) and his marriage.<sup>a</sup>

The marriage of the next Sir William Brereton with his cousin Anilla Venables was confirmed by a dispensation, which indulgence states that it was granted in consequence of the services of Sir William Brereton, his father, in the crusade against Henry of Castile, under Edward the Black Prince, Earl of Chester. The husband of Anilla served with great distinction in the French wars of Henry V. Chandler, in his *Life of Bishop Wainfleet*, speaks of this Sir William Brereton, who, through his daughter Margery, was grandfather of the founder of Magdalen College. Chandler states Sir William Brereton to have been afterwards governor of Caen, and to have routed, under the auspices of Lord Scales, a numerous army of the French near Mont St. Michel, and to have returned home "with glory and increase of fortune." Through Sir William Brereton, according to Chandler, Wainfleet became acquainted with the brave and munificent Sir John Fastolfe and Lord Cromwell, the former of whom had served with Brereton under Lord Scales. In the battle of Pontoisan Holinshed mentions Sir William Brereton as the "bailiff of Caen." That battle was fought in 4 Henry VI. 1425, and as Sir William Brereton died in this year it was probably of honourable wounds.

<sup>a</sup> See Collins's *Peerage*; title, Cholmondeley.



In 5 Henry VIII. a curious award was made by the then Sir William Brereton of Brereton, in a dispute between two neighbouring families, Moreton and Rode. The quarrel was about precedency, "which should sit highest in the church, and foremost goo in processions," which was referred to Sir William Brereton. After "examining xii. of the most auneynt men of Astbury," Sir William Brereton's decision was, "that whither of the said gyntylmen may dispend in lands, by title of inheritance, 10 marks or above more than the other, that *he* shall have the pre-eminence in sitting in the church and in going in processions, with all the like causes in that behalf." (Lysons's *Magna Britannia*.) In Little Moreton Hall, the interesting old seat of one of these parties (No. 6, Baronial Halls), in a window, are the arms of Brereton and of Moreton, with the badge of Lancaster.

The next Sir William Brereton, Chamberlain of Chester, Lord Justice and Lord High Marshal of Ireland, was the founder of the Irish branch of the Breretons. He was a very brave and distinguished commander; but the mention of his particular services is reserved till the Irish Breretons are reviewed. This Sir William Brereton's marriage with his second wife (daughter of Sir Ralph Brereton of Ipstones), re-united the Brereton Hall and Malpas Hall branches of the family.

When Norton Abbey was dissolved at the Reformation, in a manner very like robbery, the abbot and canons resisted the spoliation, and nearly 300 of the common people flocked to their assistance. The obnoxious commissioners were terribly frightened, and compelled to take refuge in a tower of the abbey. The sheriff, by great promptitude, quelled the incipient insurrection. A letter is extant, addressed by King Henry VIII. to Sir Peirs Dutton the sheriff, and Sir William Brereton, Knights, directing them, "without any manere further delays, to cause the said late abbot and chanons to be hanged, as most arrant traytors." Sir William Brereton was Chamberlain of Chester, and in that capacity, it should seem, was *he* called upon to perform this ungrateful service of executing untried men. But his conduct upon the occasion did him honour. The prisoners were respited for a time by the interference of Sir William Brereton, in consequence, he said, of the amnesty granted by the Duke of Norfolk to the rebels in Yorkshire. The sheriff, indeed, (a servile tool of the King, afterwards sacrificed by the ungrateful tyrant, like all his other minions,) this Dutton (in meanness a glutton), complains, in a letter to the King, that "what cause or meanyng Sir William Brereton had to refuse to execute the commandement to them jointly given, he, the sheriff, knows not." Let us hope that the motive was justice and humanity, as the brave are ever merciful! But it deserves notice in the collection and consideration of facts, that, among "the bodies taken and returned by the sheriff for execution," was found "Rondall Brereton, Baron of the King's

Exchequer of Chester ;” and sometimes a fellow-feeling and a touch of natural affection does “make us wondrous kind.”

The first Lord Brereton of Leighlin, in the county of Carlow, in Ireland, who married a daughter of the Earl of Rutland, a lineal descendant of King Edward III., rebuilt the family seat at Brereton. Queen Elizabeth, it is said, laid the first stone of the new baronial hall, and honoured the proprietor with another visit after its completion. It is represented in Lysons’s *Magna Britannia* to be a very magnificent mansion of brick, built in the style of Esher Place, in Surrey. Camden designates it the “sumptuous,” and Webbe the “stately house of Brereton.” In “*King’s Vale Royal*,” a treatise on Cheshire by William Smith, Rouge Dragon Poursuivant, 1656, the author speaks of the “goodly manor-place of Brereton, not to be omitted ; and not so much for the building, as the number of ancient and valiant knights and gentlemen who had, and have, their origin from thence.”

Brereton Hall (the Bracebridge Hall of Washington Irving) is situated about four miles north of Sandbach. Much credit is due to the singular good taste with which the present proprietor has preserved and restored a great deal that is interesting in the interior of the hall. The dining-room, which is highly decorated, not only with the arms of Queen Elizabeth, but also with those of all potentates in alliance with that Queen, highly blazoned, gilt, and coloured, is preserved in all its integrity ; and Queen Elizabeth’s chamber very nearly, if not entirely, so. What is chiefly to be deplored of its departed grandeur is the migration of its painted glass. The large window, formerly in the corridor, with the portraits of the successive Earls of Chester (of which a *fac-simile* is given in Ormerod), was removed to Aston Hall, near Birmingham, and thence to Bracebridge Hall, Warwickshire, the seat of the descendant of the Holts, Charles Holt Bracebridge, Esq. the honorary secretary of the Stratford Shakespeare Club, a gentleman of literary and antiquarian tastes and pursuits, by whom three of the figures of the Chester Earls removed from the corridor of Brereton Hall were exhibited at the late meeting of the Archæological Association at Warwick in July, 1847. The rest of the painted glass, including the arms of all the principal Cheshire families, was dispersed, except a very few scanty remains, not without interest and beauty. In Lord Brereton’s bedroom are the Brereton arms in perfect preservation.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Arms, Argent, two bars sable : Crest, A bear’s head proper, muzzled or, issuing out of a ducal coronet. Supporters, Dexter a bear proper, sinister a wolf argent, collar azure. Motto, *Opitulante Deo*. Family tradition has preserved an interesting fact, (for any historical record or book-notice of which the search has hitherto been unavailing,) viz. that the origin of the muzzle upon the bear in the Brereton arms was as follows: Once upon a time, in a battle of uncertain date, the Brereton of the day, a stalwart knight, was guilty of an



A mere, called Bog Mere, has now been drained and brought into cultivation. Popular superstition gave to this mere the property of exhibiting supernatural tokens of the approaching decease of any chief of the noble house of Brereton. In the words of Drayton, in the *Polyolbion* (p. 173, edit. 1612),—

That black, ominous mere,  
Accounted one of those that England's wonders make,  
Of neighbours Blackmere nam'd, of strangers Brereton's lake,—  
Whose property seems far from reason's way to stand,  
For, neare before *his* death that's owner of the land,  
She sends up stocks of trees, that on the top do float,  
By which the world her first did for a wonder note.<sup>a</sup>

In the *Brereton Travels*, newly edited in vol. i. of the *Chetham Papers*, p. 33, it is related that, at the court of the Queen of Bohemia, that princess inquired of Sir William Brereton, then upon his travels, touching the stocks of Bog Mere, of which the renown in a credulous age extended over all Europe; and, not to be outdone in absurdity and superstition, her Majesty related to Sir William Brereton, “that at Berlin (the Elector of Brandenburg's house), before the death of any related in blood to that house, there appears and walks up and down that house like unto a ghost in a white sheet, which walks during the time of their sickness and until their death.”—“Her Majesty said that Lady Leveston, then present, had seen it open the curtains. She also spoke (which Duke Bernard of Weimar averred unto her) that some ministers, being at supper, assembled together in a room of the house of Duke William of Weimar, which was troubled with spirits, being at meat, all their stools, on a sudden, were plucked from under them. A gentlewoman, sitting there at

excess of ardour, and pushed an advantage too far, in the Prince Rupert style. The King, who witnessed the brave fault, and thought it called for a mild rebuke, exclaimed—“I shall put a muzzle upon that bear,” and directed it to be notified to the Heralds' College.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Plott, F.R.S. in a magnificent project of journeying through England for the advantage of learning, (in the style of the modern archæological progresses, but at the public expense,) proposed, *inter alia*, to inquire into “strange accidents that attend corporations or families;” as “the bodies of trees that are seen to swim in a lake near Brereton in Cheshire, a certain warning to the heir of that honourable family to prepare for the next world.” Camden relates it as “*we'l attested to him* that, before any head of this family dies, there are seen in the lake bodies of trees swimming several days together.” Fuller says, in his *Worthies*, that this preternatural appearance “is reported by credible, and believed by discreet, persons:”—*Quære tamen*. To return to the most sage Plott; that Fellow of the Royal Society says, “Secondly, the savans are to inquire about the bird with a white breast that haunts the family of Oxenham, near Exeter; and, thirdly, to examine and test the story, that the Deans of Rochester, ever since the foundation, by turns have died Deans and Bishops.”—See *D'Israeli's Second Series of the Curiosities of Literature*, vol. ii. p. 27.

supper, feeling something under her cloathes, stabbed downwards suddenly with her knife, when it came up all blood ; her garter was taken off her leg, and tied, under all cloathes, upon her bare arm."

The builder, or rather restorer, of Brereton Hall (there having been an ancient residence, which covered a greater space of ground, and of which the foundations are still dug up at a wide distance from the present mansion,) was succeeded in his title and estates by his grandson ; who, in the subsequent troubles, distinguished himself by his loyalty and devotion to his unfortunate sovereign. Lord Brereton raised troops for the King's service, collected magazines of arms, and ventured his life and property for the royal cause. Ricraft, in his enumeration of the victories obtained by the Parliamentary forces, mentions "Biddle House, taken by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and in it the Lord Brereton, 26 commanders, 300 common soldiers, and all the ammunition." Lord Brereton was taken prisoner, with his wife and son ; he suffered sequestration of his estates, and was ultimately reduced to compound for them, and to pay a composition for his son. The terms were comparatively easy, and it seems probable that it was owing to Lord Brereton having a kinsman a Parliamentary general that he was admitted to this favour. In Noble's *Lives of the Regicides*, vol. i. p. 18, Lord Brereton is stated to have petitioned the Parliament in 1664 to exchange him for Sir John Northest, which they refused, alleging as their reason, that he must first give satisfaction for having killed several of their friends in cold blood at Nantwich ; but in the following year they accepted Sir John Harcourt, one of their members, for him. The second Lord Brereton's wife was a daughter of George Lord Goring, Earl of Norwich.

After the Restoration Lord Brereton was associated with the Earl of Derby in the lord-lieutenancy of the county of Chester. He was also member for the county in the first parliament ensuing ; as many of the members of his family had been in prior parliaments ; for example, in 1, 12, 18 Eliz. ; in 21 Jac. I. ; and 5, 15 Charles I. They were High Sheriffs of Chester in 10 Henry IV., 8 Henry VI., 1 Mary, 24 and 32 Eliz., and 10 Jac. I.

In consequence of his father's large expenditure in supporting the unsuccessful cause, his son, the third Lord Brereton, was reduced to struggle with pecuniary difficulties, and eventually compelled to alienate much of his paternal estate. He found himself necessitated to sell the barony of Malpas, the living of Malpas, other livings, and to sacrifice much other property.

This Lord Brereton was a very amiable nobleman, of considerable talents and acquirements, and was one of the founders of the Royal Society. Burnet says of him ("*Own Times*," vol. i. p. 375), "In 1668, Lord Brereton was the Chairman of the



Brook House Committee, named to examine the accounts of the money that was given during the Dutch war. It was carried that they should be all men out of the House; Lord Brereton was the chief of them, and had the chair. He was a philosophical man, and was, all his life long, in pursuit of the philosopher's stone; by which he neglected his own affairs: but was a man of great integrity, not to be gained by the flatteries, hopes, or threatenings of the court." Like all the great and little vulgar of "His Own Times," this coarse-minded, but sincere and honest, prelate strangely believed that no person could be attached to philosophy and engaged in scientific pursuits, without being in quest of the philosopher's stone; and *that*, inconsistently enough, at the same time that he represents this high-minded nobleman as above all sordid motives, and inaccessible to the corruptions of a court. As Mr. Brereton, he attended the first meetings of the Royal Society, which must have been in his father's lifetime.<sup>a</sup> The third Lord Brereton married Frances, daughter of Lord Willoughby of Parham.

The fourth and fifth Lord Breretons died childless,<sup>b</sup> when the peerage became extinct, and the estates passed, by the female line, to the Holts, and thence to the Bracebridges, who sold Brereton Hall, the manor, and advowson.

*Breretons of Ireland.*

The Breretons of Ireland are descended from the Breretons of Brereton Hall in Cheshire. Sir William Brereton, Chamberlain of Chester, was Lord Justice and Lord High Marshal of Ireland in 1540. He died in Ireland, and was buried in the abbey of Kilkenny in 1542. His first wife was Alice, daughter of Sir John Savage.<sup>c</sup> For an account of her ancestor, the first Sir John Savage, see Sir Harris Nicolas's *Battle of Azincour*, where Sir John Savage was greatly distinguished; and the name of Sir John Savage is found in the list of those who received ransom for

<sup>a</sup> *Ex relatione* Mr. Weld, Sec. and Historian Roy. Soc.

<sup>b</sup> Branches of this family spread into Staffordshire and Nottinghamshire, and extended themselves into Yorkshire, and some of their descendants are now resident in Bedford.

<sup>c</sup> Sir John Savage, knighted at Azincour. — Maude, daughter of Sir Robert Swynnerton, son of Sir Ralph, made a Banneret by Edward III.

Elizabeth, daughter of Sir W. Brereton, knt. — Sir John Savage, of Clifton, Knt.

Sir John Savage, of Clifton, knt. — Katherine, sister to Thomas Stanley, first Earl of Derby.

Sir John Savage, K.G. temp. Henry VIII. — Dorothy, daughter and heir of Ralph Vernon, of Shipbrook.

Sir William Brereton, knt. Lord Justice and Lord Deputy of Ireland. — Alice, daughter of Sir John Savage, knt., and Dorothy Vernon. — Thomas Savage, Archbishop of York, died 1507.

prisoners taken in that battle. From a son by this marriage of Sir William Brereton with Alice Savage, the Irish Breretons are descended.

Sir William Brereton is thus introduced into Ireland at the time of Fitzgerald's rebellion in 1534. "After that, Sir William Brereton, Knight, with his sonne, John Brereton, was inshored at Houth with 250 soldiers, verie well appointed, and Maister Salisbury, with 200 archers. Lastly, landed at the slip neare the bridge of Dublin, Sir William Skeffington, Knight, Lord Deputie. They then marched to besiege the Castle of Maynooth, which Sir William Brereton summoned: they made no great batterie for the space of a fortnight, but the castle was warily on each side environed. When Christopher Parese, foster brother to Thomas Fitzgerald, to whose special trust the charge of the castle was confided, agreed to betray it to the besiegers for a sum of money for his paynes. Parese caused such as kept the watch to swill and bolt; and, on the occasion of the snatching a gun the day before from the field, the garrison kept such pot revels and triumphant carousing, as none of them could discern his bed's head from his bed's foot. On a signe given by Parese, Sir William Brereton and his band scaled the walls and cried, on a sudden, 'St. George! St. George!' Captain Salisbury, inveigled by the deceitful allurements of a pretty dark-eyed girl to scale a particular casement which he supposed to be her apartment, lept into a tub of feathers, and sinking deep into them, from the weight of his arms, there remained. Sir William Brereton ran up to the highest tower and advanced his standard on the top. Parese, coming before the governor cheerily, for his reward, the governor asked him what his old lord and master had done for him? when Parese, thinking to enhance the merits of his defection, amplifying all, left not untold the meanest favor at his lord's hands. 'And you could find in your heart to betray his castle?' said the governor; 'Truly, one so hollow to him could never be true to us: count out his agreed money, and after that chop off his head!'"—Holinshed, vol. vi. p. 299 et al.

Such is the account furnished by Holinshed. In the second volume of the State Papers is found a letter from Sir William Brereton and John Salisbury jointly to King Henry VIII. of the date October 14, 1534, beginning: "Pleaseth your hye Magestie and habundant grace," &c. The letter proceeds with a detailed account of their disastrous voyage, "sore beaten with storm and tempest all night," and their ultimate landing at Dublin, "all our company safe (thanks be to our Lord); where we were gladly received by the maer and all the citye."

In the same volume is a letter from Sir William Brereton to Cromwell, Lord Privye Seal, written upon Sir William Brereton's appointment to raise forces, and transport them, upon his second expedition to Ireland.



"Pleaseth it your right honourable Lordship, I have receyved the King's grace's most honourable and dread commandement, the 2nd day of this October, 1536, commandynge me by the same, with all celeritye, to levye 250 archers,\* harnest and weppened, and with the same in all spede to pass into his grace's lande of Irelande," &c. The letter goes on to express Sir William Brereton's very natural wish to be permitted to employ his own sons under him, in command of the troops he is raising among his tenantry and neighbours.

Wolsey labours incessantly to impress upon the King the paramount importance of appointing to the chief commands in Ireland the most able and experienced persons, "amonges," he says, "such brittle people as they be, in whom is moche craft, and little or no faithe and trouthe." The third volume of the State Papers, contains the following letters:—

1540. *King HENRY VIII. to Sir W. BRERETON.*

"By the King:—Right trustie and well-beloved, We grete you well, and have receyved your letter, &c. As touching money and horsemen, you shall be furnished with all possible diligence; hertely praying you for the time to be vigilant and muche circumspecte, your charges wherein we shall repaye, not doubting but that in this parte, as in all others, you will have that just and discreet consideration which may answer to our expectation, and redound to your comfort hereafter accordingly."

1540. *King HENRY VIII. to the COUNCIL of IRELAND.*

"Trusty and right well-beloved, We grete you well, and have received your sundry letters, &c. whereby we doo as well perceyve the good and acceptable exploits purposed against the rable of our rebelles there, and finally executed against O'Chonor, with the singular good service done by you, Sir William Brereton, our justice, in the same.

"And as concerning the sute of you, Sir William Brereton, albeit we had before made a grant for th'alenacyon thereof, yet considering your good and continual service doon unto us, at this your request we have stayed it in our handes, and propose further to deliberate thereupon, and to determine our pleasure, wherein, doubt you not, that we shall have just respect to your services accordingly."

\* Cheshire was famous for its archers, the effective men in ancient battles. "In dangerous times King Richard II." says Fuller, "sent for 2,000 Cheshire men, all archers, to attend him." The rather presumptuous local proverb is, "Cheshire,—chief of men."

From "The Charge of the Military List in Ireland in 1534," the following is an extract :

"The Knight Marshal's retinue—a grand captain 4*s.* a-day ; 29 horsemen at 9*d.* a-day, amounting to £1 8*s.* *per diem*—£11 18*s.* *per mensem*—and *per annum* £511.

"Mr. Brereton's retinue—a grand captain 4*s.* a-day ; a captain 3*s.* ; a petit captain 2*s.* ; 150 archers at 6*d.* a piece, £4 4*s.* *per diem* ; £117 12*s.* *per mensem* ; et *per annum* £1553.

"The Lord Deputies stipend is £666 13*s.* 4*d.*"

"On the breaking out of O'Neale's rebellion, Lord Leonard Grey, being then Lord Deputy, brought a fresh supply of soldiers, and requested that Sir William Brereton, who was discharged and returned to England, should be sent into Ireland, as one that, for his late service, was highly commended of that countrie. The king and council appointed Sir W. Brereton to hie thither with all speed, having the charge of 250 soldiers of Cheshire ; in which service the gentleman was found so prest and ready, that, notwithstanding, in mustering his band, he fell, by mishap of his horse, and brake his thigh in two places, yet, rather than he would retire homewards, he appointed the mariners to haule him up to their bark by pullies, and in such impotent wise arrived in Ireland, suppressing the weakness of his body," says the quaint historian, "with the contagious valour of his mind.

"The Lord Greie being recalled, Sir W. Brereton was appointed Lord Justice, whose short government was entangled with no little trouble. With O'Neale he made a composition, when O'Conhur and his adherents rose. The Lord Justice, with the army, and with 2,000 of the pale, made towards the rebels, who gave ground and dispersed themselves in woods and marshes. The Lord Justice, this notwithstanding, invaded O'Conhur's country, burnt his tenements, and made his trenches so passable as that 400 carts, besides light carriages, were taken without let through the countrie.

"Sir Arthur St. Leger being appointed Lord Deputy, Sir W. Brereton was made Lord High Marshal, who, within one half year after, travelling by the Lord Deputy's appointment, to bring in Desmond (*i. e.* to negotiate terms with him), ended his life in that journey, and lieth entombed at Kilkenny, in the quire of St. Kennie his church."—See Holinshed.

Sir William Brereton's eldest son (who married a Booth of Dunham) died in his father's lifetime, leaving a son (married to a Warburton), who succeeded to Brereton Hall, Cheshire. But, availing themselves of the advantages incidental to their father's official rank and position in Ireland, Sir W. Brereton's younger sons and his grandson Andrew settled in that country ; and with zeal, activity, and courage,



pushed their fortunes in that direction. Andrew, ancestor of the Breretons of Carrigslaney, married Catharine, daughter of Sir Andrew Fitz-Simon, Knight, of Dublin. "In 1549 the Scotch islanders sent forces to the assistance of the rebellious Irish. Andrew Brereton, with 35 horse, met with 200 of these, defeated them with great slaughter, and quieted Ulster; and, for his good conduct, was made general or governor of Ulster."—Cox's History of Ireland, vol. i. 287.

A third son, Edward, settled also in Ireland, in the Queen's county, and left a numerous progeny.

In a book of state letters preserved in the Vice Treasurer's department, Dublin, there is a letter of Queen Elizabeth in 1570, directing that Andrew Brereton, Gent. (son or nephew of the last mentioned Andrew), shall have "a grant of land within our English pale."—See Tracts of the Irish Archaeological Society, vol. ii. p. xxix.

On the 21st of December, 1617, O'Brien Earl of Inchiquin married Mary, daughter of Lord Brereton of Leighlin, in the county of Carlow. A licence was granted to O'Brien and Dame Mary his wife, during their successive lives, to make and sell *aqua vite* and *usquebaugh*, and to keep taverns within the town and liberties of Carlow, and within the whole county of Carlow. A pretty source of profit for a peer and his lady!

Henry Brereton, grandson of Andrew Brereton, and himself styled of Moyle Abbey, county of Kildare, was one of his majesty's commissioners, before whom depositions were taken concerning cruelties exercised upon the British Protestants in the great rebellion in Ireland of 1661:—"That it might appear," says the commission, "what the losses of the Protestants were, what cruelties were acted, what murders were committed, and who were the chief actors in them, the Lords Justices thought fit to issue out a commission under the great seal, to take the examinations upon oath," &c. Henry Jones, Dean of Kilmore, and seven others, were named, amongst whom Henry Brereton was included.

Before this time Andrew Brereton, of the Breretons of the Queen's county, being left by Sir C. Coote in the command, gallantly defended Borrass Castle, to which all the Protestants of the barony of Upper Ossory had retired for protection.<sup>a</sup>

In 1645 Lord Glamorgan (afterwards Earl of Worcester), when arrested and imprisoned for the treaty he negotiated with the Catholics, under the authority of a private seal from Charles I. communicated with his wife through the medium of "our cousin Brereton." Who such "cousin Brereton" was does not clearly appear. It will be remembered, however, that Sir William Brereton, executed by Henry

<sup>a</sup> Collins's Peerage; title, Upper Ossory.

VIII. from jealousy, upon a most doubtful charge of improper connection with his queen, Anne Boleyn, married a daughter of Charles Earl of Worcester.

In 1665 Essex, sixth son of Sir Robert Digby and the Lady Lettice, Baroness of Offaly, and brother of the first Lord Digby, married Lettice a daughter of the Brereton of Queen's county. This Essex Digby, afterwards Bishop of Dromore, was a descendant of the famous Sir Kenelm Digby, the *Picus de Mirandola* of England. For a clergyman, his fortunes were singularly various, and his history most eventful. He was educated at the University of Dublin, where, whilst he was yet a student, being presented on the 16th December, 1630, to the rectory of Geashill, a clause was inserted in the presentation containing the King's grace or faculty to hold the same, notwithstanding his being *out of orders*, but that he should continue his study until he came to riper years, to take orders upon him. In 1637 he was presented to the rectory of Ballycomen, in the diocese of Kildare, where he fixed his residence, but was robbed and deprived of his goods, stock, and cattle to the value of £1,570 in the very beginning of the rebellion, and had his house burnt by the Dempsters, Dunns, and Cownors.

After the reduction of Ireland by the Parliament forces, he became (by what process of transmutation is inconceivable, but he did become, and was) the Parliament's established minister at Belfast, with an allowance of £120 a-year. Upon the restoration of Charles II. he was made Dean of Cashel in 1661, commenced D.D. and in 1670 was promoted to the see of Dromore, "and, deceasing 1673, was buried in his cathedral."—See Archdall's Irish Peerage.

The name of Lettice came into the Digby family with his mother Lettice Baroness of Offaly. As the name was new in the Brereton family, Lettice Brereton was probably her goddaughter, named after her. The Lady Offaly was a daughter of the house of Kildare. The title of Offaly belonged to the eldest son of the Earl of Kildare, but *she* assumed it by the special favour of King James I. Her answer to the summons of the rebels, to deliver up her castle in 1641, was conveyed in a letter worthy of being recorded, ending with "Your threats shall no way dismay me, Lettice Offalia."—See the letter in Leland's History of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 170.

The Baroness Offaly was several times assaulted and besieged by the Dempsters in her castle of Geashill, which she defended with great resolution. The whole incident abounds with the blended humour and pathos of the Irish character. To the first summons, offering her a safe convoy upon submission, but threatening to spare neither man, woman, or child upon taking the castle, she returned the spirited answer before mentioned. After two months' siege the Lord Viscount Glenmoncier (head of the Dempsters) brought a great piece of ordnance to the attack of the castle, to the making of which, "as it was credibly reported," say the Irish histories,



“there went seven score pots and pans, which were cast three times by an Irishman before they brought it to such *perfection*.” They then sent another summons, with an engagement (on surrender) to send a safe convoy with the lady and her children, either to Dublin or any other garrison, and concluding, “Your loving cousin, Lewis Glenmoncier.” The new gun burst on the first fire. Lady Offaly replied, “I little expected such a *salute* from a kinsman. I can think no place safer than my own house. God will take a poor widow into his protection.” And she held out with great firmness till fetched off safe by Sir Richard Grenville.

In the next generation we find the eldest son, named William Brereton, thus described:—“William Brereton, of Moyle Abbey, aforesaid; of Brittas, in the county of Carlow; and of Carrigslaney, in the county of Carlow” (which last-mentioned property was purchased of the Earl of Arran, in 1676.) His will was proved in 1692.<sup>a</sup>

In the next generation, George Brereton, of Carrigslaney, Esquire, eldest son, married Catharine, daughter of George Percival, of Templehouse, county Sligo; and from this time the pedigree of the eldest branch of the Brereton family in Ireland is preserved in the House of Yvory, and in Archdall's Edition of Lodge's Irish Peerage. The House of Yvory is a genealogical history of the house of Yvory in the duchy of Normandy,—of the Percival family thence descended, and their alliances, compiled *ex stemmate familiae*, (so the history expresses it,) by the first Lord Egmont, in 1744.

One of the Breretons of this period married a lady of the singular name of Duncea, of the family of Chichester Earl of Donegal. The name does not appear to have been preserved in the family with any anxious care, or transmitted with pride to their posterity.

The present representative of the elder branch of the Brereton family in Ireland is the son of the late Lieutenant-General Brereton, of New Abbey.

Colonel Brereton, of the artillery, greatly distinguished at Matagorda, and at other places in the Peninsula, and a Waterloo officer, at the last attack upon Canton vindicated his hereditary claim to the highest military skill and conduct.

#### *The Breretons of Shocklach and Malpas Hall, Cheshire.*

This branch of the Breretons separated from the elder branch of the family, in the person of Sir Randle Brereton, of Ipstones. This family, from their residence at Malpas Hall, and owing to their acquisition of large possessions within the barony, have been occasionally confounded with the elder line of the Breretons of

<sup>a</sup> *Ex relatione* Sir W. Betham, Ulster King at Arms.

Brereton Hall, barons of Malpas Castle. The crest of this branch of the family was a bear's head proper, arising out of a wreath for distinction, without the ducal coronet.

Sir Randle Brereton, grandson of the founder of this line, was Chamberlain of Chester in 19 and 20 Henry VII., and one of the knights of the body to Henry VII. He is mentioned, generally, as chamberlain to Henry VII. in the 21st year of that monarch's reign, and that he held that office 26 years, to the 23rd Henry VIII; by which latter prince he was made a knight banneret, as a reward for his conduct at Terouenne and Tournay. He built the Brereton Chapel in the church of Malpas in 1522, where he was buried, leaving issue nine sons and three daughters. He had a brother, Humphrey Brereton, of Malpas, and a cousin of the same name (of Humphrey), the third son of Bartholomew Brereton, of Grafton. One of these two (the latter it is surmised) was the author of the interesting poem, intituled "The Pleasaunt Song of the Ladye Bessye;" of which the narrative is very lively, the sentiment just, and the manners singularly *naïve* and true. The recited personal services of the gallant young esquire justify the extraordinary confidence reposed in him by the veteran Stanley and the adventurous young princess. Regarded too (as Miss Strickland, from the confirmation it has received from a variety of quarters, considers it should be) as an historical document, its narrative serves to explain the extraordinary favour which each branch of the Breretons is found to have enjoyed under the Tudor dynasty. For the bright sunshine of royal favour, in which this family at that time basked, it was clearly not indebted to any remarkable political or military services rendered to their party; for, though it can be detected that at least the elder branches of the Breretons were Lancastrians, a long minority seems to have kept the head of the family out of the struggle of the Roses, and that disastrous battle of Blore Heath, so fatal to the Cheshire aristocracy.

" Oh ! Cheshire, wert thou mad of thine own native gore ?  
There Dutton Dutton kills ; a Done doth kill a Done ;  
A Booth, a Booth ; and Leigh by Leigh is overthrown ;  
A Venables against a Venables doth stand ;  
A Troutbeck fighteth with a Troutbeck, hand to hand."

DRAYTON.

Of the incontestable fact of the high court favour of the Breretons under the Tudor dynasty, a remarkable instance occurs in the first volume of the State Papers, where, in 1521, Wolsey, who had on good prudential and economical grounds, planned the sending of the knights of Kent to France, on military service, was com-



pelled to yield to the appointment of a Brereton from Cheshire, on the nomination of the King himself.

Wolsey to King Henry VIII.—“The knightes of Kent, being neare hand and sonest in aredinesse, were thought right meet. Neverthelesse, as it shall stande with your pleasure, so I must and wol be contentyd; thinking Sir Randolph Brereton with thothyr knightes by your Grace appointed, to be convenient in the lieu and place of the knightes of Kent.”

This is one occasion, among several, in which the design of the minister was compelled to yield to the pleasure of the King. It is very justly observed, in the able introduction to the State Papers, that the predominant influence which Wolsey is usually supposed to have exercised over Henry VIII. is considerably overrated.

From this branch of the family are descended the Breretons of Norfolk. A younger son of Sir Randle Brereton of Malpas, was, by Alicia his wife, father of the first Brereton in Suffolk.

*The Breretons of Tatton and Handforth.*

Sir Randle Brereton's second and ninth sons were founders of the Tatton and Handforth branches of the Breretons. His seventh son (*quocunque nomine gaudebat*, Ormerod, it is believed rightly, says *William*,<sup>a</sup> others sometimes say *Henry*,) succeeded his father as Chamberlain of Chester, and was Groom of the Chamber to king Henry VIII. He married Elizabeth daughter of Charles Earl of Worcester, widow of Sir John Savage, and was beheaded, upon a most questionable charge of criminal intercourse with Queen Anne Boleyn, in 1536, when he was 28 years of age, and a young married man. It may be noticed, incidentally, that Queen Anne Boleyn's favourite lap-dog (an Italian greyhound) was named *Urien*, the name of a brother of the Groom of the Chamber, and a family name in the Malpas Hall branch of the Brereton family, derived from the early barons of Malpas.

“Trifles light as air, are to the jealous confirmation strong.”

Sir H. Spelman, in his History of Sacrilege, includes Sir H. Brereton as a grantee of church lands belonging to an abbey in Kent, in his list of those upon whom the awful judgment denounced in scripture against the despoilers of the Church had,

<sup>a</sup> *Vide* Harl. MS. 1040.—“7th son, William, married Eliz. dau. of Earl of Worcester.”

Harl. MS. 1070.—“William Brereton, *decapitatus*, H. VIII.”

So Pedigree.—“Willielmus Brereton, cubicularius, Hen. VIII. &c.”

“Brereton, William, Groom, &c. Hen. VIII. 1536.”—Wood. Athen. Oxon.

in the end, surely fallen. The Groom of the Chamber was also during his brief day of royal favour—jointly with his brother Urien—made ranger of Shotwicke Park, with a fishery in the river Dee. His eldest son, named Henry, was restored in blood in the reign of Elizabeth; but so cautiously did that politic princess proceed in this delicate case, that it was not till the thirteenth year of her reign that a private Act passed for that purpose. She could not have restored his father in blood, and thus vindicated the character of her mother, without reflecting upon the justice of her father, and invalidating the authority of the Crown; so, she adopted the course of restoring the son, at a distant date, and in a quiet way.

The direct male line of this family terminated in 1611, when Sir Randle Brereton left a sole daughter and heiress, wife of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley. In Malpas church are two chantries, erected by the Cholmondeleys of Cholmondeley, and the Breretons of Shocklach and Malpas Hall. The Brereton chantry (*sic vos, non vobis*) is now known by the name of Egerton's Chapel, having passed, with the heirship general of Brereton of Shocklach and Malpas, to the Egertons of Ridley. In consequence thereof, the crest of Egerton (and of Egerton only, without the Brereton crest) has been latterly, and Ormerod justly adds most improperly, painted on the door of the chapel. The historian might have added, that the Egerton crest was placed on the Brereton chantry, not only improperly, but also ineffectually; for the chantry is inclosed by a screen of carved oak, round the upper part of which is inscribed,—“Pray, good people, for the prosperous estate of Sir Randolph Brereton, of thys work edificatour, wyth his wyfe, Dame Helenor, &c.”; by which superscription, and by the inscription on an altar tomb within the chantry, the memory of the real founders of the oratory is preserved, and their recumbent figures lie there beautifully executed in white marble; while under very elegant gothic canopies, on one side of the tomb, are represented seven figures in niches; the other side of the monument being to the wall.

#### *The Breretons of Honford.*

This family bore the same arms and crest<sup>a</sup> as the Breretons of Brereton Hall, with filial distinctions, and for difference. See Burke's Extinct Baronetage.

Sir Urien Brereton, 9th son of Sir Randle Brereton, of Shocklach and Malpas Hall, married the daughter and sole heir of William Honford, of Honford. His son, grandson, and great-grandson, were all by name William; and it is the latter

<sup>a</sup> The same arms are borne by the family of Isenburgh in Germany.—See Gwillim Abridged, 145.



who was the distinguished Parliamentary general. He was early raised to the rank of a baronet, and was a deputy-lieutenant, and member for the county of Chester, before the troubles broke out in the reign of Charles I. His "notorious aversion for Church government," noticed by Clarendon, was probably heightened by circumstances; but he appears, by his early travels, to have been always of a sober, serious, and religious turn of mind, with a *penchant* for spicy sermons. He married a daughter of Sir George Booth, who was considered the corner-stone of the Presbyterian interest in Cheshire, and is described by writers of the day as "free, grave, godly, brave Booth, the flower of Cheshire." Sir William Brereton was also the friend and neighbour of Henry Bradshaw, of Colonel Dukinfield, and of Lenthall; the latter of whom afterwards married his daughter. The cruel and unjust execution of the Groom of the Chamber by the brutal tyrant Henry VIII. rankled in the breasts of his family and connections; the imposition of ship-money had led Sir William Brereton into collision with the citizens of Chester; and he had disputes with the church and corporation of that city about exemption from tolls, and for murage, on account of his lands of St. Mary's Nunnery in Chester, granted by the Crown to his family.

Sir William Brereton was frequently opposed, in the course of the civil war, to Lord Byron, (and principally at Nantwich and at Chester,) whose family was nearly allied to his own, Lord Byron's brother, Sir George Byron, having married another daughter of Sir George Booth, sister to Lady Brereton. In the Booth family (who, disgusted with the Independents, returned to the cause of the Stuarts, and promoted the Restoration) there came to be an earldom (Warrington), and a barony (Dela-mere), as well as a baronetage.

Sir William Brereton's achievements are recounted in "Riecraft's Survey of England's Champions, and Truth's Faithful Patriots." Upon "the religious and magnanimous knight, Sir William Brereton" he observes, "Constancy and stability, with much perseverance, is brave Brereton's badge of honour. He was never found to betray his trust, or to decline his proceedings." Riecraft afterwards enumerates his victories: "The defeat of Sir Thomas Aston at Nantwich; of the Earl of Northampton, at Hopton Heath; the successive captures of Stafford, Wolverhampton, Whitechurch, and Eccleshall Castle by the most religious Sir William Brereton; the capture of Halton Castle; the defeat of Lord Capel near Nantwich (where were taken 1600 common soldiers, and 120 Irish women, with long skeanes); the capture of Holt Castle; of Hawarden Castle; of Ripon; the rout of Sir John Byron, and raising the siege of Nantwich; the defeat of Prince Rupert at Tarvin;

the siege and capture of Chester; the capture of Lichfield Castle, and of Dudley Castle."

To these exploits, Vicars, in his "England's Worthies," adds, "The battle of Middlewych; the defeat of the Earl of Derby at Stockton Heath, and of Sir Vincent Corbet at Drayton; of Lord Capel at Lappington, and at Leigh Bridge; the capture of Wrexham, and of Gusanna House; a victory at Welsh-Pool, and another over Sir Marmaduke Langdale at Malpas; a victory over Sir Thomas Middleton at Montgomery Castle; the successive captures of Liverpool and Shrewsbury; a victory at Denbigh, and the reduction of Tutbury."—See also Hollis's Memorials; and Ducarel's Account of Croydon.

There is a rude print of Sir William Brereton in the work of Vicars; there is a better print in Riecraft's Survey, which was re-engraved a few years back, by Richardson; and there is, again, a spirited print of Sir William Brereton, mounted on a charger, in an intended "Royal Clarendon."

In the Brereton Travels (in the Chetham Papers, No. 1) it constantly appears, how very fond Sir William Brereton was of his ducks and decoys. He sedulously collects information upon the subject in Holland, and contrasts, with the chuckle of conscious superiority, foreign ponds and decoys with his own in Cheshire. Now, in a letter to Sir Thomas Aston, "at the beginning of the troubles," which communication relates to the mutual attempts of the contending parties to secure magazines, allusion is thus made by the royalist writer to Sir William Brereton's taste and indulgence of it, in this particular: "You know what a spirit he is of. Having a company of Roundheads about him, may be of much advantage to him about Chester. He is near unto his *decoys*, that he may send out his ducks every way to fetch in others."—See Civil War in Lancashire and Cheshire, Chetham Papers, No. 2.

Sir William Brereton, it is highly gratifying to find, was one of the tellers in favour of hearing the Earl of Derby's beautiful and dignified petition to Parliament for mercy. The petition was heard in vain, owing to Cromwell and his friends leaving the House, and not letting 40 members remain in it. However fiercely opposed to Lord Derby in the conflict of that day, Sir William Brereton, to his honour, does not seem to have forgotten that the Breretons had been among the most conspicuous followers of the Stanley at Bosworth and at Flodden Field. Sir William Brereton evidently recalled those former ties to remembrance in the hour of victory; and, with the generosity of a noble nature, used his exertions in favour of the vanquished.



Sir William Brereton. } Tellers for the Yeas; with the Yeas, 22.  
Mr. Ellys.

Mr. Bond. }  
Major-General Harrison. } Tellers for the Noes; Noes, 16.

and that vote of Brereton was given for Derby, although Dukinfield and Bradshaw (Brereton's own connections) were upon the court martial which had condemned Derby to die.

After the termination of the civil war, Sir William Brereton had the chief forestership of Macclesfield conferred upon him, large allowances out of the personal estates of papists and delinquents, and a grant of the archiepiscopal palace at Croydon, in which he died, shortly after the Restoration, in 1661.

Whilst living in the old palace he applied his influence with his party to procure a more adequate stipend for the services of the minister in the parish church. In the years 1650, 1651, and 1652, a sum of £50 per annum was ordered by "The Committee for plundered Ministers" to be paid out of the great tithes of some other parishes to Sir William Brereton, for the use of such ministers as should be by him appointed to serve the cure of Croydon.—See Manning's History of Surrey, vol. ii. p. 522.

By his first wife, Sir William Brereton had a daughter married to the son of Humble Lord Ward. Sir William Brereton's second wife was Cicely, daughter of Sir William Skeffington, by whom he had a daughter, who married Edward Brabazon, son of the Earl of Meath. Also, a son, Sir Thomas Brereton, who married a daughter of Humble Lord Ward.

The last baronet died issueless in 1673.

#### *Breretons of Ashley and Bowdon.*

About the end of the reign of Henry VIII. Thomasine, daughter and heiress of George Ashley, of Ashley, brought the inheritance of Ashley in marriage to Richard, son of Sir William Brereton, of Brereton Hall, Lord Marshal of Ireland, by his second wife. Hence descended a long line of Breretons, buried at Bowdon. In the Carrington chapel in Bowdon church is an ancient monument, representing the whole-length figures of William Brereton of Ashley, and of Jane Warburton, his wife. Under the arch are the arms of Brereton, with 18 quarterings, impaling Warburton of Arley, with 9 quarterings. Underneath is an inscription on a large tablet :

*"Sub hoc marmore, etc. Gulielmi Brereton et Jane uxoris suæ; quorum alter, genus et originem duxit ab antiquo et illustri familia et progenie Brereton de Brereton; altera ex clara vetustaque orta prosapia Warburtoni."*

Sir John Brereton, Knight, King's Serjeant in Ireland, who died in 1633, was of this family; "a branch of that well-spread tree in Cheshire. He was bred one of the first scholars of the foundation in Sidney College, Cambridge. Afterwards being brought up to the study of the law, he went to Ireland, and became the King's Serjeant. He obtained a plentiful estate, and left £3000 to Sidney College. When the news of the legacy first arrived at college, none extant therein ever heard of his name, after 40 years; but the legacy of the worthy knight *ponebatur in lucro*, being pure gain and improvement to the college."—Fuller's Worthies, 193.

His death happened in 1653. He was buried in St. Katharine's, Dublin. He married a daughter of Lord Brabazon.

#### *Breretons of Tatton.*

Sir Richard Brereton, younger son of Sir Randle Brereton of Malpas, received the Tatton property in marriage with the granddaughter of Sir William Stanley, the preserver of Henry VII.'s life in Bosworth field, and the victim of that miserly king's cupidity afterwards; the proofs of his conspiring against the King, scanty as they were, being derived from his own confessor, and inflamed by what Lord Bacon calls, "the glimmering of a confiscation." Neither the means, nor motive, were at that time uncommon in prosecutions for treason.

Sir William Stanley's son, William Stanley, had this property in marriage with Joan, daughter of Sir Geoffry Massy, of Tatton. In 41 Elizabeth, 1598, Richard Brereton, the then possessor, dying childless, settled all his estates on his wife's brother, Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Chancellor of England.

#### *Breretons of Wettenhall.*

I have nothing to add to the account in Ormerod, respecting the moiety of this manor (the Manley share in Wettenhall) acquired by marriage, and, together with other large possessions, enjoyed by a family bearing the Brereton name, alienated early in the reign of Charles I.



*Breretons of Burros in Denbighshire.*

The Malpas Hall branch of the Breretons extended itself into Denbighshire, and perhaps also into some other parts of Wales. The Breretons of Burros were extinct in Owen Salusbury Brereton, esquire, benchet of Lincoln's Inn, and Recorder of Liverpool, F.R.S., F.S.A. The estates in Cheshire, devised by Owen Salusbury Brereton to the Trelawny family, his nephews by his first wife, were such as he derived by marriage from a daughter of Salusbury Lloyd, esq. viz. Shotwieke Park and Great and Little Langhall. These were not the Brereton estates, or old possessions of the principal branch of that family, as has been commonly supposed. Once only had the Breretons of the Malpas Hall branch of the family held the rangership of Shotwieke Park, with a fishery in the Dee, and its appurtenances, granted in the 20th Henry VIII. to the ill-fated Sir William Brereton, Groom of the Chamber, and to Urien Brereton his brother, for their joint lives. It was from this house that Owen Salusbury Brereton was justified in claiming his descent. But he was solicitous to be considered the representative, at the same time, of the elder and principal branch of the family of the Breretons of Brereton Hall and Malpas Castle. Confounding persons who were of different branches, and *eighth* cousins, in statements which must be pronounced empirical, in order to support the misrepresentation, he contrived the introduction upon a portrait of the first Lord Brereton of a suicidal inscription; in which it is stated, that the father of the first Lord Brereton (who three reigns later, according to the parish register, died and was buried at Brereton, Sept. 4, 1559, in the reign of Elizabeth,) was beheaded in the 26th Henry VIII.

A parting word of the only writer among so many fighters. Miss Strickland, in her *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. iv. p. 9, *Life of Elizabeth of York*, observes, that much of the history of that charming princess is to be learnt from the domestic poet Humphrey Brereton, at a time when the professed historians are silent; adding that the accuracy of Brereton as to times, names, persons, and situations, is indirectly and most singularly confirmed from various quarters and by many circumstances. As this delightful poem, which was formerly in the hands of the few, in a limited number of copies of Mr. Haywood's reprint of it, is now made accessible to all, by its publication among the Percy Society's works, a few short extracts only will be given, from those parts in which Brereton is principally noticed.

When the "Fair Lady Bessye," after many passionate intreaties urged in vain, had prevailed upon Lord Stanley to assist her in the restoration of her rights; when

the difficulty, that the great lord could not write, and durst not trust a hired scribe from the city in so delicate a matter, was surmounted by the accomplishments of the young princess herself, who had been taught by a "a scrivener from lusty London," "both to read and also to write," and that to the equal surprise and delight of "Good Father Stanley," who exclaimed, "You are a proper wench! Still," said the earl, "now you have written, and sealed have I,

"There is no messenger we may trust,  
Because the matter it is so high."  
"Humphrey Brereton," then said Bessye,  
"Hath been true to my father and me,  
He shall take the writings in hand,  
And bring them into the West cuntry;  
I trust him best of all this land."  
In the morning, when the day gan spring,  
Up riseth young Bessye;  
And maketh haste in her dressing;  
To Humphrey Brereton goeth she.  
When she came to Humphrey's bower dight,  
With a small voice called she;  
Humphrey answered the lady bright,  
Who calleth so early on me?  
I am King Edward's daughter right,  
The Countess Clere,<sup>a</sup> young Bessye,  
In all haste, with mean and might,  
Thou must come speak with the Earl of Derby.  
Humphrey cast upon him a gown,  
And a pair of slippers upon his feet;  
And went with that fair ladye sweet."

Lord Stanley admonishes him :

"My love, my trust, my life, my land,  
All this, Humphrey, doth lie on thee."

The lady bright too has some parting words with Humphrey, in which she cautions him "to take no company, sit not too long, nor drink the wine." She gives him, for a *viaticum*, "nobles nine."

<sup>a</sup> "The Countess Clere. In truth the Lady Bessy was, by indubitable right, the moment her brothers were dead, the heiress of the mighty earldom of Clere, as the representative of her ancestress, wife of Lionel, second son of Edward III." Hall strongly confirms Brereton's statements, without knowing anything of him. In every page some curious coincidence with forgotten fact is to be found in Brereton's work. Humphrey Brereton embarked for Britany at Liverpool, a port then little known, but where the shipping was at the command of the house of Stanley.



" If I be queen, and live, surely  
 Better rewarded shalt thou be.  
 With a bowl of wine she coud him away."

So before, on her conference with the earl :

" They ate the spice and drank the wine."

Humphrey rides, without stopping, to Holt Castle ; which (after sleeping for two hours) he leaves for Lathom, provided with a fresh horse by Sir William Stanley. His adventures are graphically related at each place. His task successfully accomplished, he returns to London, and finds Lord Stanley walking in the garden of the palace at Westminster with King Richard III. Lord Stanley looks at his newly arrived esquire a volume of diplomacy. The King questions and cants about his dear people, " our own commonalty." Humphrey is discreet and guarded.

Afterwards they repair to " Bessye's bower :"

" When Bessye Humphrey did see anon,  
 She took him in her arms and kissed him times three ;"

which Miss Strickland calls, " receiving him with extraordinary gratitude."

It was decided to transmit to Richmond, gold to raise men, an offer of the crown, and a ring from the princess, by the trusty Humphrey,—again named for the mission by the princess herself. Humphrey took ship, and, with three mules loaded with gold, arrived safe at Begraues Abbey.\* The porter, being a Cheshire man, knew Humphrey at sight, refused his proffered largesse of £3, but pointed out where Richmond was to be found :

" With a long visage, and pale and black,  
 A wart he hath, the porter said,  
 A little above the chin ;  
 His face is white, his wart is red."

Richmond kissed the ring, but " Humphrey of the prince answer got none." He ventured to remonstrate, and warmly extolled the charms of the Lady Bessye. Richmond, with characteristic caution, replied, he would send an answer in three weeks.

Humphrey was evidently at Bosworth fight ; but his account of it is not at all

\* Brereton declares that he found the Earl of Richmond at Begraues monastery. His residence there, is a fact not known to history, but it is full of probability, as there were two convents connected with that of Begraues, on the Earl of Richmond's own estate in Yorkshire. The letter to Gilbert Talbot, "fair and free," and the characteristic reception of it, have all the peculiar features of the age; and "the closer Brereton is sifted, the more truthful does he appear."—Miss Strickland, vol. iv. p. 12.

luminous. He does not paint the " battle field " with the same graphic power that he has displayed in delineating home scenes of life and manners : "*non omnia possumus omnes.*"

Humphrey was, no doubt, as he well deserved to be, comfortably provided for, and lived and died a lusty jolly Cheshire squire. The head of his house was taken into high favour at court, and lived for twenty-six years knight of the body, first to Henry VII. and afterwards to Henry VIII. and was made Chamberlain of Chester. Queen Elizabeth and King James I. continued to extend, in a remarkable degree, the royal countenance and favour to the house of Brereton, and raised the principal branch of the family to the peerage.



V.—*Observations on the History and Progress of the Art of Watchmaking, from the earliest Period to modern Times : in a Letter from OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., Secretary.*

Read June 8, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

Pall Mall, June 1, 1848.

ON Thursday evening last I took the liberty of laying on the table of the Society, for exhibition, a few ancient Watches which I had collected, and I availed myself of that opportunity of doing so, because, on the same evening, the valuable paper by our excellent Director, on the curious ancient Bohemian clock in the Society's collection, was to be read, to which I thought the subject of Watches might well form a sequel, and at the same time bring a new matter under the Society's consideration. I also undertook to throw together a few Observations on them in the shape of a paper, which I now take the liberty of sending you, and in which I hope to be able, in some degree, to exhibit the progress of the art of watchmaking from the earliest period to modern times. I can scarcely expect to communicate to the Society any knowledge of which its members are not already in possession; but I rather hope to elicit from those of our Fellows who are more learned in these matters that information which I should desire to obtain, and which they are always so kindly ready to impart. Besides this, I also hope to direct some attention to a subject hitherto but little heeded.

It is evident that, in order to construct portable clocks, a new moving power was required as a substitute for the weights which set in motion the wheelwork of the fixed clocks, which, it is known, had become common, even in private dwelling-houses, towards the close of the fifteenth century, and which, as we see in some ancient paintings, much resembled, in form and construction, with the exception of the pendulum, the small gilt Dutch clock now upon the table of the Society. It was necessary that this power should act of itself, independently of external forces, and irrespective of position, and that the source of it should be compact. Such a

power is found in the expansive force of a coiled spring. The precise period when this power was discovered, or first applied, as well as the individual and the country to whom the merit of the discovery is due, is, as far as I have been able to learn, not certainly known. It seems, however, to have been employed in the construction of portable clocks, or watches, as we call them, at the earliest towards the end of the fifteenth century. Sassi, or, as his name is Latinised, Saxius, in his "*Historia Typographica Mediolanensis*," printed at Milan in 1745, amongst other Milanese poets, mentions Gaspar Visconti, a member of the noble family of that name, and as illustrious by his learning as by his birth. In his selection from the works of this poet he gives a sonnet written in 1494, on account of the allusion to portable clocks or watches which it contains, as well as the distinct mention of them in its title. Sassi's work is written in Latin; the sonnet, however, is in Italian, and he gives, in a note, the title of it between double inverted commas, as if it were a literal transcript of the original manuscript of the poem:—"Si fanno certi orologi piccioli e portativi, che con poco di artificio sempre lavorano, mostrando le ore e molti corsi de pianeti, e le feste, sonando quando il tempo ricerca. Questo sonetto è fatto in persona di uno innamorato, che guardando uno dei predetti orologi compara se stesso a quello;"—and which, when translated, would run thus:—"Certain small and portable clocks are made, which, with little ingenuity, are continually going, shewing the hours, many courses of the planets, and the festivals, and striking when the time requires it. The sonnet is, as it were, composed by a person in love, who compares himself to one of these clocks." This is a very close description of certain astronomical striking watches which were made in the latter end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, and inclines me to think, that the title may have been written some time after the sonnet. The sonnet in question makes allusion to a certain hidden force working day and night within the heart, as well as to the sound of the little bell; but these allusions are hardly of themselves sufficiently clear, without the aid of the title, to identify them with the portable clocks. Gaspar Visconti died in 1499, and is said to have left, among his other works, his collection of sonnets, in a beautifully illuminated MS., in the library of Saint Barnabas at Milan, and it would be interesting to ascertain if the title to the sonnet here given is found there. I have been thus minute, because, on the authenticity of this title to the sonnet rests the evidence that these portable clocks had been made before 1494, and were known in Italy at that time. Sassi goes on to say that Domenico Manni, in his "*Commentarium de Florentinis Inventis*," attributes the invention of them to Lorenzo de Vulpariâ. Domenico Manni was a celebrated printer, writer, and antiquary of Florence, born 1690. In this work, which is



in Latin, and was published at Ferrara in 1731, in cap. 29, "*De horologiorum aliorumque instrumentorum perpetui motus inventionibus*," it is stated, on the authority of various persons, among whom is Benvenuto Cellini, that Laurentius de Vulpariâ, a most excellent workman in the manufacture of clocks, and very good astronomer, of Florence, constructed a most remarkable clock, and that he was the first who reduced into a material sphere the movements of the heavenly bodies and planets, to the wonder of all who saw it; and he adds a Latin letter, dated Fiesole, August 1484, from one Angelus Politianus to his friend Franciscus Casa, containing a detailed account of this clock, wherein he describes it as a square pillar, nearly three cubits high, tapering like a pyramid to the top, and ending in a point surmounted by a brazen sphere nearly one cubit in diameter, on which were exhibited the courses of all the planets and heavenly bodies, moved by small toothed wheels within. This machine was therefore a planetarium, or orrery, and evidently not portable. Nothing is said of the moving power, which might easily have been a weight within the square pillar on which the sphere rested. I do not find in the work any allusion to portable clocks, nor can the invention of them be upon this authority attributed to Lorenzo de Vulpariâ or the Florentines.

The ancient city of Nuremberg, so famous for the ingenuity of its mechanics, as well as the ability of its astronomers, has always laid claim to the merit of the invention of watches, or pocket clocks, as they are called by the Germans; and the fact of the early watches having been called proverbially Nuremberg eggs, seems to favour their claim. It is certainly the earliest place at which we have any authentic information of their having been made, and we have also the name of the artist who first made them there. John Gabriel Doppelmayr, born at Nuremberg in 1677, and professor of mathematics in that city, and in 1733 elected F.R.S., published at Nuremberg in that year his "*Historical Account of the Mathematicians and Artists of Nuremberg*:" and in his account of the famous mechanics will be found as follows:—

"Peter Hele, a clockmaker, was everywhere held to be a great artist on account of the pocket clocks which, soon after the year 1500, he first made in Nuremberg, with small wheels of steel. The invention, which may with great justice be ascribed to him, being something quite new, was praised by almost every one, even by the mathematicians of the time, with great admiration; he died 1540." He adds, in a note,—"*On this subject Johannes Coccleus, in his Commentary on the Cosmographia of Pomponius Mela, published in 4to, at Nuremberg, in the year 1511, makes the following announcement: 'Inveniuntur in dies subtiliora, etenim Petrus Hele, juvenis adhuc admodum, opera fecit, quæ vel doctissimi admirantur mathe-*

matici, nam ex ferro parva fabricat horologia, plurimis digesta rotulis, quæ quocunque vertantur, absque ullo pondere, et monstrant et pulsan<sup>t</sup> XL horas. Etiam si in sinu marsupiove contineantur.' This, already so written by Coccleus in 1511, shews, in the clearest way, that pocket clocks were made in Nuremberg 219 years ago, and he has fairly attributed the invention of them to this artist, since it was the most deserving of admiration, and the newest of his time, and which will be considered as a Nuremberg invention; whence also clocks of this kind were, for a long time, called Nuremberg living eggs, because they, at first, used to make them in the form of small eggs; which name is even to be found in the German translation of a strange book which F. Rabelais has left behind him, in chapter 26. Hence it is evident how erroneous it is to ascribe, as many do, the invention of small striking clocks, as of these pocket clocks, to Isaac Habrecht, a well-known mathematician, who lived about the beginning of the last century, and dwelt at Strasburg, whereas our Peter Hele had made them in Nuremberg 100 years before."

Coccleus, who was born in 1479, accurately describes a striking watch, and seems to speak of it as a remarkable novelty, which excited the admiration of the mathematicians at the time at which he wrote, viz. 1511, and, laying much stress upon its going without any weight, even in the pocket, attributes the invention of it to Peter Hele, his fellow townsman and contemporary; it is therefore difficult to reconcile the facts that such machines as watches could be well known in Milan in 1494, and yet remain unknown in Nuremberg, so celebrated for its clockmakers and mechanics, till fifteen or sixteen years afterwards, when they seem to have appeared as a new discovery. The earliest portable clocks or watches appear, if Gaspar Visconti's authority is correct, to have been very complex machines, and to have struck the hours, as well as shown them on the dial. There are on the table watches of somewhat similar construction, though made a century later. To some alarums, which had long been usefully applied to clocks, were added. In Germany they were originally called pocket clocks, which name they still preserve. In Latin *horologium* is used without regard to size. In Italian, *orologio* and *oriuolo* were used indifferently for the large and small machines. Our English word *watch*, derived, it is said, from its being an instrument by which one could watch the progress of time, has usually been applied to those portable machines which do not sound the hours; whilst the term *clock* has, in conformity with the meaning of the word, been properly confined to those which strike on a bell. Again, the French word *montre* seems also to apply to an instrument *quod monstrat*, as being distinct from one which marks the time by sounding the hours.

I will now refer to the objects which are exhibited, and endeavour to point out



how the art of watchmaking advanced, and when the successive improvements were made. The pocket clock, No. 1 of the series upon the table, seems to me to be of a very early date; I cannot pretend to say that it is the work of Peter Hele, but the material of which it is made, as well as its construction, would almost seem to refer it to that period, for it answers exactly to the description given by Coccleus of those made by that artist, it being a small clock made entirely of *iron*, set with numerous small wheels, and which, without any weights, in whatever way it may be turned, shows the hour; it does not however strike, having an alarum only. The case is of metal gilt, pierced with an ornamental pattern of early character on the sides, and at the bottom. It is two and a half inches in diameter, and nearly one inch in height, and is in shape like a box. The entire movement, with its plates, pillars, wheels, and pinions, is made of iron, and the wheels have been cut with the hand. In the alarum part however is one small brass wheel, inserted in the repairs of more modern times, and some of the pivot holes have been bushed with brass. To whomsoever may be due the invention of the coiled spring as the prime mover of a clock, this specimen seems to exhibit the application of it in its earliest form. There are here two main springs, the larger for the going part, and the smaller for the alarum. These are not inclosed in a barrel or drum, and there is therefore neither fusee nor catgut, but the outer end of the coiled spring is bent back as a hook, and clips round a strong pillar between the plates, as the support and resistance to the force which it is to exert at its inner extremity, and an iron guard is fixed to the plate to prevent the outer coil of the spring from expanding too far. The inner end of the spring is fixed to the arbor of the great wheel, and the spring is coiled or wound up from its centre, and by re-expanding sets the train in motion. There is of course a ratchet wheel and spring to enable it, when coiled up, to maintain its position, and act upon the great wheel. The square pin which receives the key for coiling up the spring of the going part, has been broken off, but that of the alarum is entire and acts well. Very many foreign watches are now made without fusee or chain, and are set in motion by coiling up the inner end of the main spring. But there is this difference: the spring is coiled up from its inner extremity, which then remains fixed, whilst the spring uncoils itself from its outer end, whereas, in this instance, the spring is both coiled up and uncoils itself from its inner extremity. I am told that some American clocks have recently come over constructed in this manner as something new. The train of wheels, which are entirely of iron, terminate in the crown wheel, which plays on the pallets of the verge; and here our ancient work ends, for a new balance, with spiral spring and cock, as the pierced plate of brass which supports and covers it is called, has at a

late period been clumsily added. The mechanism of the alarum is similar to that now in use. The dial face, round which the index revolves in twelve hours, is gilt, and on it are engraved two circles of figures, the outer from I to XII in Roman characters, and the inner in what are usually termed Arabic figures, of an early form, precisely similar to those on the Bohemian clock belonging to the Society, and Holbein's design for a clock as a new year's gift to Henry VIII. which has been exhibited. In the centre of the dial is a moveable plate marked with similar figures up to 12, for the purpose of setting the alarum, in which are four holes, by which it might be turned by means, probably, of a forked key. Beyond the outer circle of the hour-figures, twelve studs or pins, one opposite each figure, project from the face of the dial, that at the XII being much higher than the rest, to enable any one to feel in the dark to what hour the index might point, whilst the face was covered by a glass or crystal to protect the index from external motion in case it should be carried in the pocket. The bell is fixed to the case, and forms a lining to it, as in modern repeating watches. The balance which governed the movement of these early watches, was a small wheel fixed on the verge, as its axis, to which an oscillatory motion was given by the alternate impulses of the teeth of the crown wheel upon the pallets, which were fixed to the verge. This was the earliest escapement invented for clocks and watches, and continues unchanged in common use to this day. In consequence of the external motions to which portable clocks were necessarily subjected, the wheel was adopted for the balance instead of the cross bar, with weights fixed to its arms; it being necessary to distribute the weight as equally as possible round the centre of its oscillations, in order to prevent their being affected by the external movements to which the machines must be exposed; and these wheels were made heavier or lighter, larger or smaller, at the discretion of the maker, according to the power of the main spring employed. There does not appear in this watch to have been any contrivance for regulating the power of the main spring, which, when tightly coiled up, must have exerted a far greater force than when more expanded, and consequently the machine must have been a very imperfect measurer of time. The inconvenience arising from the varying power of the main spring was soon felt, and the first plan adopted to equalize its force is said to have been to make it, when coiled up, act upon a counter spring. Of this I have no example, but it seems to have been unsuccessful, and the ingenious contrivance of the fusee was soon invented, but by whom, I believe, is nowhere recorded. The order of things which we have just seen was now inverted; the coiled spring was inclosed in a barrel, its inner extremity made fast to an immoveable arbor, whilst its outer extremity was attached to the interior of the barrel, and it was coiled



up from without, by means of a catgut, wound, from the exterior of the barrel, on to a truncated cone called the fusee, which by means of its conical form caused the main spring, when most coiled, to act with least power, the force being exerted nearer to the axis of the wheel. On the arbor, to which the inner extremity of the main spring was fixed, a ratchet wheel was placed, which by means of a spring fastened to the plate, and generally made ornamental, as seen in the specimens on the table, allowed the force of the main spring to be adjusted to the balance, and this was the only way of regulating these watches. Though the action of them was still very irregular in this state, watchwork seems to have remained without further improvement for near 150 years; but, notwithstanding the imperfections, the utility of the machine was perceived, and as early as 1530 Gemma Frisius, a Dutch astronomer, is recorded to have suggested that portable clocks should be used to ascertain the longitude at sea. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, watches were abundantly made in England, Germany, and France, of various quaint forms and devices, some ornamented with much taste and elegance, as many of the specimens on the table testify.

No. 2 of the series has been the case or box of a small portable clock, much in the form of our Bohemian, and, judging from the figures on the face, as well as the engraved pattern, may probably be nearly of the same age. The engraving of the Crucifixion on the bottom may lead to the supposition of its having been made for some ecclesiastical person.

No. 3 is an oval watch of gilt metal, ornamented with chasing and engraving; round it runs a band of silver, chased in an elegant flowered pattern, in the style of the works of Theodore De Bry, an engraver of the sixteenth century. In the centre of each side a Tudor rose is engraved, which, together with the name of the maker, Ferdinando Garret, renders it probable that it is an English watch; and coupled with the style of ornament, would, I think, refer its date to the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. In the Antiquities of Nithsdale, a MS. in the possession of the Society, written in 1787, and now upon the table, is a drawing of a watch very similar to this, which belonged to an ancestor of the writer, Robert Riddell, six generations back, which, supposing the original owner to have been thirty years of age when he became possessed of the watch, would fix its date about 1560. The dial face is very elegantly engraved and gilt, whilst the hours are marked in black upon a circle of silver. The works, however, with the exception of crown wheel and balance, are wanting; but, from the absence of ornament on the cock, I am inclined to think it as early as I have stated.

In Warner's History of Glastonbury Abbey is an engraving of the watch said to

have belonged to Richard Whiting, the last abbat, who was put to death in 1536. Inside the lid which covers the face appears to be engraved, "Richard Whiting, 1536." In the account of the watch its authenticity is attempted to be traced, but no description of the watch is given, nor is any mention made of the inscription, which, if genuine and original, would prove it to be one of the earliest extant of which the exact date is authenticated. Derham, in his "Artificial Clockmaker," mentions having seen a watch which belonged to Henry VIII. in 1541; and watches of the time of Elizabeth are not uncommon.

Among the jewels given to Queen Elizabeth on New Year's Day, in the 14th year of her reign, I find

"First, one armelet or shakell of golde, all over fairely garnishedd with rubies and dyamonds, haveing in the closing thearof a clocke, and in the foreparte of the same a faire lozengie dyamond without a foyle, hanging thearat a rounde juell fully garnished with dyamondes and a perle pendaunt, weying xj oz. qrt dim. and farthing golde weight. In a case of purple vellat, allover embroderid with Venise golde. and lyned with greene vellat. Geven by therle of Leycester."—Harl. MS. 4698, p. 2.

In the library of the Royal Institution is preserved a watch, which is also traced to have belonged to her. The works are inclosed in crystal, set in gold, which, together with the dial, is very elegantly enamelled.

In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford is a very elegant specimen. It is what is termed a hunting watch, in the form of a melon; it is of gold, and the sections or quarterings are studded with large and fine torquoises. It is usually called Queen Elizabeth's watch, but Edward East is the maker, and it can hardly have been made much before 1620. There is also another good watch in the same Museum, which passes for Oliver Cromwell's watch; but, if all the watches which pass for Queen Elizabeth's and Oliver Cromwell's belonged to them, they had both large collections.

To Mary Queen of Scots was given a watch in the form of a death's head, of which a drawing and description is in the possession of the Society.

No. 4 is a watch in form and construction resembling No. 3. The movement is in perfect condition, and, with its original catgut, goes well for sixteen hours. The case is silver, partially gilt, and very elegantly chased; and on one side is a figure of Hope, on the other of Faith, both finely engraved. The dial face is similar to the last, and on both are the small studs for finding the hour in the dark. In these watches is seen the fusee, and the contrivance for regulating the power of the main spring. The maker's name, John Limpard, as well as the ornaments, seems to prove it an English watch.

Nos. 5 and 6 are watches of similar form and construction, though less orna-



mented; they are in excellent preservation, and, with their original catgut, go for sixteen hours. Their date is probably about the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the following century.

Nos. 7, 8, and 9, are pretty specimens of ornamental ladies' watches of the latter part of the sixteenth century. In No. 7 the face resembles those of the two first specimens described; and in the centre of the dials of this and also No. 3 and 4, are engraved views of cities. The back is of silver, whilst the face is covered by a prettily cut rock crystal. In No. 8 the works are inclosed in an octagonal box, cut out of solid rock crystal; and in No. 9 the case is formed with tablets of crystal set in a silver gilt frame. The catgut here has been removed, and a modern chain substituted. It is, however, a pretty ornament, and is inclosed in its original stamped and gilt leather case, which has an opening in front to show the face of the watch.

No. 10 is a curious specimen, in the shape of an egg or acorn, of metal gilt; it is suspended by a ring at the larger apex, round which are wrought seven leaves. Whether this was made as a quaint toy, or for the purpose of an alarum, I cannot determine. The egg opens in half with a hinge; in the upper part is contained a small watch, and in the lower part attached to a moveable plate is a minute wheel-lock pistol. When shut up, the face of the watch is parallel with this plate; and when the index of the watch arrives at the hour of one, it touches the trigger, which protrudes above the plate, and discharges the pistol. At the lesser apex of the egg is a small hole cut with the thread of a screw, through which the barrel of the pistol, which is scarcely three eighths of an inch long, would discharge itself. It has been suggested, that a tube charged with powder might have been screwed into this hole, which being ignited by the pistol, would, if applied to the touch-hole of a larger gun, discharge it, and so give a signal as an alarum at any required time. The watch is furnished with a chain, which seems to be part of the original work, instead of a catgut, and it is the earliest specimen of a chain that I know, and it cannot I think be older than the seventeenth century. It goes for twenty-four hours, and bears the name of Hans John, Königsberg.

In the year 1631 the Clockmakers' Company of London was incorporated by royal charter; but, as I shall give the history of this Company in an Appendix to this paper, I shall say no more of it at present. But I cannot mention the Company without here tendering my thanks to my friend Benjamin Lewis Vulliamy, esq. the present Master, not only for his obliging assistance and permission to examine the records and books of the Company, but also for his kindness in allowing me to inspect the treasure of ancient watches in its possession, and to make a selection from them for exhibition on the table of the Society this evening.

The small round watch, No. 11, bears the name of John Midnall, one of the first incorporated Assistants; and, from the altered shape and plan of the case, as well as the character of the face, was probably made about 1650. It still has a catgut. In the British Museum is preserved a small plain oval gold watch, with a crystal over the face: it has an outer case of gold, quite plain, and when inclosed looks not unlike a small egg. It is said to have belonged to Oliver Cromwell, and was made by Robert Grinkin of London, one of the Clockmakers' Company in 1640.

Hitherto watches had been but irregular time-keepers. A new era, however, in their history is about to commence; and, after remaining for 150 years without any improvement in their construction, they in a very short time became the most wonderful, beautiful, and useful instances of human ingenuity. The cause of their imperfection was the irregular action of the balance wheel. In the year 1658, it seems that Dr. Hooke first conceived the idea of applying a spring to regulate its movement. His first idea is thought to have been a straight spring, but in 1660 he had a plan for applying one of a spiral form, such as is now used. From certain circumstances, not important here to detail, it was not brought into use till the year 1675, when Tompion, a celebrated watchmaker of that time, made, under his superintendence, a watch with a spiral balance or pendulum spring for Charles II. with this inscription: "Robt Hooke, invenit. 1658. Thos. Tompion, fecit. 1675." One end of the spring was made fast to the arbor of the balance wheel, whilst the other was secured to the plate, and the oscillations were rendered equal and regular by its elastic force. The celebrated Huygens, however, claimed for himself the merit of the invention, and his claim was again disputed by the Abbé Hautefeuille, who in 1674 made a verbal communication to the Academie des Sciences of a plan for the employment of a straight spring for the regulation of the action of the balance wheel, one end of which was made fast to the watch plate, and the other being at liberty governed the oscillations of the balance. In the specimen No. 5 this contrivance has been added to a watch of earlier make. The steel spring is lost, but I have substituted a small bristle, which shows its action well.

The balance wheels of the early watches were small, and their diameter was usually about one-fourth that of the plate when the watch was round. After the application of the pendulum spring, their size was in many instances greatly enlarged, and they sometimes covered three-fourths of the plate. They are now usually made about one-half the diameter of the plate, or something less.

Hitherto watches had but one hand, and pointed only the hours; but from the application of the spiral-pendulum spring to the balance, and the means thereby afforded of regulating the oscillations to the greatest nicety, they now performed



with such precision, that the minute wheel and hands which made the revolution of the dial every hour were soon added, thus marking the smaller subdivisions of time. This improvement is said to have been made by Daniel Quare, a famous watchmaker of London at that period. Many old watches were altered to receive the spiral spring; and those now made by Tompion and others assumed a new character, both in their form, the accuracy and beauty of their construction, and the labour and taste bestowed in ornamenting the various parts of the movement, as well as their exterior. No. 12 is a striking watch or pocket clock, made about 1680, by Markwick of London, and exhibits all the improvements up to this time; and No. 13 is an old French alarm watch, of the same date, which, though it has the improvement of the pendulum spring, still retains the old contrivance for screwing up the main spring. In 1676 Daniel Quare invented the repeating movement in watches, by which they were made to strike at pleasure. A clergyman named Barlow had also invented a similar contrivance. The two inventions were, it is said, to have been submitted by the King to the Privy Council for decision, according to Derham, as to their respective merits, when Quare's watch was approved. The real fact, however, was that Mr. Edward Barlow, a clergyman, had applied for a patent for the sole making and managing all pulling or repeating clocks and watches. The Watchmakers' Company petitioned the King against the granting the patent; whereon the King appointed the 2d March 1687 for hearing the reasons against granting the said patent before the Privy Council, and, upon their being so heard, it was ordered that no patent be granted to the said Edward Barlow. Neither Mr. Quare's watch or his name are mentioned in the record of the proceedings; but Mr. Quare made subsequently for King William III. a very beautiful, elaborate, and highly finished repeating watch, which, together with its case, still exists in perfect preservation.

In the year 1695 Thomas Tompion first invented a Cylinder Escapement, with horizontal wheel. This invention was not brought into use till the following century, when it underwent various modifications. It has had, however, the most remarkable effect on the construction of watches; for, by dispensing with the vertical crown wheel, it admits of their being made of the flat and compact form and size we now see, instead of the cumbrous and ponderous bulk of the earlier periods.

With the various modifications of the escapement, and its mechanical improvements, it is not the province of this Society to concern itself, and these I shall not notice. But I shall bring to a close my series of watches and observations, with the mention of the last great improvement, viz. the application of jewels to diminish the friction of the pivots, which, notwithstanding the beauty of the workmanship with which watches were now made, still existed. Facio, a native of Geneva, and partner

of De Baufré, a French watchmaker established in London, is said to have first invented the application of jewels to watchwork for this purpose. There is, however, a watch made by Huggerford of London, before the application of the pendulum spring, belonging to the Clockmakers' Company, and now on the table, where a large amethyst is mounted on the cock, which shows that the experiment had been made at a much earlier period; and in 1704, when Facio applied to Parliament for an Act to confirm to him the sole right to make jewelled watches, as being his invention, the Clockmakers' Company opposed him, and, producing this very watch, convinced the Committee that the invention was not originally his, and threw out his bill. Facio, however, invented the art of piercing rubies to receive the pivots of the balance, which he made known about 1700. And here the repeating and jewelled gold watch, made in the year 1718, and having all the improvements up to that period, completes the series, showing the various gradations of the progress of the art of watchmaking through two centuries.

I remain, dear Sir Henry,

Yours faithfully,

OCTAVIUS MORGAN.

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#### HISTORY OF THE CLOCKMAKERS' COMPANY OF LONDON.

The Clockmakers' Company of London was established and incorporated at the petition of the clockmakers, as well freemen of London as foreigners residing there, by a Royal Charter from King Charles I., in the year 1631, by the name of "The Master, Wardens, and Fellowship of the Art and Mystery of Clockmaking of the City of London." The Company consists of a Master, three Wardens, and ten or more Assistants, chosen out of the Fellowship, who have power by their charter to make bye-laws for the government of all persons using the trade in London, or within ten miles thereof, and for the regulation of the manner in which the trade shall be carried on throughout the realm. And in order to prevent the public being injured by persons "making, buying, selling, transporting, and importing any bad, deceitful, or insufficient clocks, watches, larums, sun-dials, boxes, or cases for the said trade," very great powers are given them by the charter "to enter, with a constable or other officer, any ships, vessels, warehouses, shops, or other places where they shall suspect such bad and deceitful works to be made or kept, for the



purpose of searching for them;" and if entrance be denied, "to break open any locks, doors, bolts, latches, chests, boxes, &c. where they shall suspect such works to be," and if any such be found, they are directed to be seized in the King's name; and upon proof of such insufficiency of the work before the Lord Mayor, or, if he cannot judge, before the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants, to be broken, reserving, however, a right of appeal to the Lord Mayor.

This power of search was constantly exercised to the end of the century. The town was divided into districts, and periodical searches made; and many instances are recorded of "deceitful works" being found, as also of their being broken and destroyed. Power was also given to the Court to inflict and levy fines on parties offending against the bye-laws.

By these laws, in order to prevent persons of ill behaviour resorting to London, it is ordered that no clockmaker within ten miles of London shall employ any one without first presenting him, together with a certificate of his name and birth, for the Company's approval. No clockmaker was allowed to take more than one apprentice without leave of the Court. Every apprentice who had served his time and was admitted a freeman, was to serve his master, or some other of the fellowship, two years as a journeyman, and then to produce, if required, before the Master, Wardens, and Assistants, his masterpiece, such as he shall be appointed to make, before he be admitted a workmaster. No person was allowed to use the trade unless he had served seven years as an apprentice, nor to teach any other than his apprentice. And it was "ordained that every master should teach or instruct his apprentice in the making of cases or boxes of silver or brass, and likewise the several springs belonging to a watch, clock, or larum, and all other particular things belonging to such watches, clocks, or larums, mathematical instruments, or sundials, to the end that he may make up his masterpiece with sufficiency of credit, and understand both the beginning and ending of his work from time to time which he shall take in hand." By this it should appear that, as every master watchmaker was to teach his apprentice, so he must himself have learned, and been able to make an entire watch and all its component parts; a matter requiring vast knowledge as well as vast practical skill, when it is considered that a plate lever watch, as now usually made, consists of one hundred and thirty-eight pieces, exclusive of the chain; that the metals employed in its construction are gold, silver, copper, brass, and steel, and to these must be added the glass, enamel dial, and jewels. Such a mechanism now requires the manipulation of thirty-eight distinct persons. No foreigner was to be employed except with the approval of the Court. Every freeman using the art, when warned, was to attend the Quarter Courts which the Com-

pany held, and, on refusing, to be fined. All clocks, watches, cases, mathematical instruments, were ordered to be brought to the Court to be inspected, approved, and marked, under penalty for neglect; and any alien working within ten miles of the city of London, and not yielding obedience to the Company, was ordered to have his tools and works seized till he yield such obedience.

This Company has no hall, but its meetings have, from its first establishment, been regularly held at some tavern in the city. The journals or minutes of the proceedings have been regularly kept from the period of its first incorporation, and are preserved in excellent condition. From several entries in the journals, it appears that some sort of rivalry at times existed between the Companies of the Clockmakers and the Blacksmiths. Though this may at first seem strange, it will cease to be so when it is considered that the blacksmiths were in some sort clockmakers, or rather makers of clocks, since the early clocks, both large and small, were constructed almost entirely of iron, and that in making the wheels, &c. of the larger clocks, the hammer and forge of the blacksmith was necessarily called into active operation.

In the journals no mention is made of the troublous times of the Rebellion, the death of the King who had so recently given them their charter, the Restoration, or the Great Fire of London, which does not seem to have interrupted their proceedings, but only caused them to change their place of meeting from one tavern to another; and, which is somewhat extraordinary, there is no mention made either of the application of the pendulum to clocks as a substitute for the ancient balance, which took place in 1657, or of the pendulum spring to watches, which was first made public in 1676, the two most important improvements in the whole history of horology. From this it may be inferred that the disputes as to the merits and originators of the inventions never came officially before the Court. Notice, however, was taken by the Court both of the invention of repeaters and the application of jewels to watches, as will hereafter appear.

The following entries in the journals of the Company are of interest, some as shewing the price of watches at that period, and others the exercise of the powers conferred on the Company by their charter; and I think that we may infer that the judicious administration of those powers by the masters, wardens, and assistants, and the control thereby exercised over the trade, tended in no small degree so to advance the art of clock and watch making in this country, and to raise its character and credit, that the watchmakers in foreign countries sought to imitate and counterfeit the English work, which had at that period attained that acknowledged superiority which it has since maintained.



1635.—Mr. Warden Midnall hath a brass watch which he had from Mr. Warden Harris, for which Mr. Warden Harris was to pay 40s.

1636.—In the accounts of a Translation of Mr. Masterson to the Clothworkers' Company are the following items :

|   | £. | s. |
|---|----|----|
| Given the Clothworkers a silver cup . . . . . | 1  | 10 |
| Item, a watch . . . . .                       | 4  | 0  |
| Item, a clock . . . . .                       | 3  | 0  |

1661.—The movement of Mr. Marston, which was seized at the late Court for deceitful work, was condemned, and by his not appearing on being warned, he is by the Court fined 40s.—Searches were made eastward and westward.

1666, Aug. 20.—The last meeting of the Company before the Great Fire was held at the Castle Tavern, Fleet-street; and on October 8th, the first meeting after, it was held at the Crown Tavern, Smithfield, but no mention is made of the fire.

1667.—Mathematical instrument makers were first admitted members of the Company, and searches for the examination of measures of length were now first made.

1668.—At a search of the Clockmakers and three mathematical instrument makers, who were Assistants, in the shop of Samuel Morris, ironmonger, at the sign of the Dripping Pan, near Charing Cross, three yards and two jointed two-foot rules were seized.—Also in the shop of Byfield, ironmonger, near the Chequers in Holborn, one plain joint rule; in the shop of Baggs, ironmonger, Holborn Bridge, three plain joint rules and one brass joint rule were seized, not being agreeable to the standard.—At a subsequent Court, the several parties appeared, the measures were broken and returned to them, on promise of being corrected before they were again exposed to sale.

1671.—There is this year an entry of an indenture, being a receipt from the Exchequer for three brass standard yard measures, which had been made according to the statute 12th Henry VII. and provided, together with cases for them, by the Company, for the Exchequer.

1671.—This year, on application of the Company, a coat of arms, viz. Sable, a table clock resting on four lions, and surmounted by an imperial crown or, was granted to it by Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms.

1678.—Mr. Matchett, being an Assistant, was suspended from attending, he being well known to be a Popish recusant.

1682.—John Catsworth, maker, and Francis Dennis, engraver, were brought up before the Court, and fined for making unworkmanlike and insufficient movements, and engraving false names thereon.

1687.—Mr. John Matchett his suspension taken off, and he was restored to his place in the Court.

1688, Sep. 29.—Be it remembered that in pursuance of the order of the Court of the 8th day of February 1687<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>, and according to the order of the Court of the 5th March 1687<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>, the patent endeavoured to be obtained by one Mr. Edward Barlow, a priest, and to be granted to him by the King's majesty for his sole making and managing of all pulling repeating pocket clocks and watches, he pretending to be the true and first inventor of that art and invention, was by

- diligence and endeavour of the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of this Company, with great charge and expense, which was borne by and out of the stock of the Company, very successfully prevented, and upon the 2d March 1687 $\frac{7}{8}$  ordered by the King in Council not to be granted.
- 1703.—The Master and Mr. Quare produced letters from Patrick Cadell, of Amsterdam, stating that Cabriere, Lambe, and others, at Amsterdam, had set the names of Tompion, Windmills, and Quare on their work, and sold it for English.
- 1704, Decr. 11.—A Special Court was called upon the occasion of Nicholas Facio, Peter de Baufré, and Jacob de Baufré, having petitioned the House of Commons for an Act for the sole applying precious and more common stones in clocks and watches, and for the enlarging the term of their patent.—Their reasons for such an Act were read, as also reasons of several members of the Court by way of answer, and it was ordered that the Master, Wardens, and Assistants should petition Parliament and oppose the Bill.
- 1704, Jan. 5.—The Master reported there had been a constant diligence used in obstructing the Bill in Parliament, brought in on the petition of Nicholas Facio, Peter de Baufré, and Jacob de Baufré, for the sole applying precious and more common stones in clocks and watches, viz. That the Parliament had been petitioned against the Bill, and that the Petitioners had been heard by Counsel before the Committee on the Bill, who had made such amendments to it that they thought it best to destroy it, and had therefore struck out all parts thereof, save the words “Be it Enacted,” and reported accordingly.—The Master also acquainted the Court, that in the proofs brought against the Bill there was an old watch produced, made by Ignatius Huggefords, that had a stone fixed in the cock and balance work, that was of great use to satisfy the Committee; and it was ordered that the Renter Warden do buy the said watch, if he can, to be kept for the members of the Court.
- The same was bought accordingly of Henry Magson, for £2 10s. he having bought it of Henry Seale, and it was placed in the Master’s hands.

This watch was exhibited on the table of the Society, being one of the collection of watches kindly lent by the Clockmakers’ Company for exhibition in illustration of this paper.

MEMBERS OF THE COMPANY AT ITS INCORPORATION, 7th CHARLES I. 1631.

*Master.*

David Ramsay, Esq.

*Wardens.*

Henry Archer.

John Wellowe.

Sampson Shelton.

*Assistants.*

James Vantrollier.

Richard Morgan.

Francis Forman.

John Harris.

John Midnall.

Samuel Lynaker.

John Charlton.

Edward East.

Simon Bartram.

John Smith.



The first meeting of the Company was held the 12th Oct. 1632, and at the second meeting, held on the 16th Oct. the following persons were sworn and admitted the first freemen.

|                   |                     |                  |
|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Robert Rothwood.  | Onesiphorus Helden. | Francis Torrado. |
| John Brooke.      | Oswald Durant.      | Thomas Dawson.   |
| Peter Hues.       | Josias Cuper.       | Simon Hackett.   |
| Thomas Shepherd.  | Ely Volant.         | Richard Child.   |
| David Bouquet.    | William Petit.      | Thomas Alcock.   |
| Thomas Howse.     | John Droeshont.     | Robert Grinkin.  |
| William Daniell.  | John Walker.        | John Burgis.     |
| Lewis Cooke.      | Thomas Ware.        | Edmund Gilpin.   |
| Thomas Okeham.    | Robert Holloway.    | Thomas Vecue.    |
| George Clarke.    | William Daniell.    | Thomas Lambe.    |
| John Bull.        | Daniell Sanders.    | John Bullby.     |
| Richard Lord.     | Nicholas Fetter.    | Richard Jackson. |
| Richard Mason.    | William Barker.     | John Nicasius.   |
| Richard Grose.    |                     | George Smith.    |
| Frances Stephens. | 1633.               | John Hertford.   |
| Matthew Browne.   |                     | William Almont.  |
| Thomas Holland.   | William Selwood.    | Timothy Gray.    |

VI.—*On the original Site of Roman London.* By ARTHUR TAYLOR, Esq., F.S.A.  
*In Two Letters to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., &c. &c. Secretary.*

LETTER I.

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Read December 7th and 14th, 1848.

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DEAR SIR,

Coleman Street, London, April, 1848.

I SHALL be glad if the following Remarks on the site of Roman London can at some convenient opportunity be submitted to the Society of Antiquaries.

Occurring as a station in eight of the fifteen journeys of the Imperial Itinerary, four times as a point of departure, three times as the terminus of a route, *Londinium* is a link of connexion with other stations on the same lines of road, and its position a necessary preliminary to a correct knowledge of the roads themselves. Without claiming for London more than this relative importance in British-Roman topography, and considering it merely as an Itinerary distance, it must therefore be very desirable to ascertain its original site. By some of our best authorities in this branch of study the subject here proposed has been postponed or avoided altogether, as too large for their designs; others have examined it in connexion with the supposed ancient communications between the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, but with no very good results. So far, indeed, from any location being clearly established, the site of *Londinium*, now fixed on this side of the Thames, now on the other,<sup>a</sup> has been left an uncertain point,<sup>b</sup> to which the position or the distance of other places would have to be accommodated, as one or another of the systems which have been advanced might happen to be adopted. The origin and foundation of London are generally accounted for under the prevailing influence of its well-known fabulous history; while, in the more judicious examination of ancient remains in our present

<sup>a</sup> London has been placed on the south of the Thames because Ptolemy calls it a city of the Cantii. It is suggested by a friend, that the same difficulty arises in the geographer's account of two of the cities of his own country Egypt. The district Prosopitis, and its metropolis Nicium, are placed by Ptolemy on the east of the great river; the district Sothroides, and its capital city Heracleopolis Parva, on the east of the Bubastic branch of the Nile. In both cases the district was on the east and the city on the west.

<sup>b</sup> "Jam incertus planè hæreo, cui viæ insistam ut Londinium inveniam."—Gale, *Iter Brit.* p. 64.



city, Roman London is considered rather in its largest extent, and as the London of Constantine, than with reference to its original narrow limits. By none of these inquiries has it been attempted to realize any of the characteristics which distinguish the first period in the history of a Roman settlement, and which are necessarily those of an age of conquest.

As a city, the importance of *Londinium* has, I think, been antedated. Whatever may have been its character and destiny in after times, there can be little doubt that it was at first nothing more than a military post covering the passage of the river, with such a garrison as would secure the means of transit, and serve to protect the camp. But the camp was a stationary one; and its garrison if not large yet permanent. We cannot then for a moment suppose that such a position, the key to the interior of the island, had no entrenchments or works of defence. If these are found on Humber and Severn, they were not wanting on Thames. Whether fortified by walls, or simply by vallum and ditch, some regular defences must at all times have existed, in conformity with the practice and the recorded principles of the great masters of the art of war.\*

\* Such being the kind of station we should expect to find, and the existence of which, according to analogy and general observation, we have some right to assume, it will be the object of this paper to inquire,

1st. Whether this post—the original London—may not be determinately fixed on a part of the present city.

2d. Whether the form and limits of the first inclosure cannot even now be discovered.

For the present I shall confine myself to the former of these inquiries.

It is the character of a certain district in the middle of London (and one peculiar to that district) to have a system of streets at right angles, one a wider street, extending in length as a centre, and with narrower streets or lanes diverging from it. Such a disposition will be found to exist, and even now with considerable regularity, in the neighbourhood of Cannon Street and East Cheap, between Walbrook on the west and for some way beyond London Bridge on the east, the whole having a manifest relation to the course of the river. I believe that few things undergo less change, under common circumstances, than the plan of cities; and that, however

\* The circumstances attending the march of Suetonius, after the revolt of Boadicea, lead us to conclude that *Londinium* was not then walled, especially as this was the case with *Camulodunum*, a place of vastly more importance. But he would hardly have thought of defending it, and making it the "seat of war," if entirely open and unprotected: "ambiguus an illam sedem belli deligeret," &c.—Tacit. *Annal.* xiv. 33.

remote their origin, and though more than once entirely destroyed by fire,<sup>a</sup> the present streets of this district may indicate almost exactly the course of former ones.<sup>b</sup> It is suggested with some confidence, that Cannon Street and East Cheap are to London that which a High street is to other Roman towns of a quadrilateral design, and it was under this impression that the present inquiry began. Of the secondary streets described above, some few have been interrupted or covered by building; if these are restored to the plan, the lines they form (except in the liberty or precinct of Coleharbour) will be not only parallel but very nearly at equal distances one from another. Beyond all memory this part of the city has been in a state of complete and compact occupation; whilst in others not far remote, waste land, or wider spaces than now exist, are matters of historical mention.

Besides the gromatic character of its streets, there is another circumstance tending to distinguish the ground within these limits from that which immediately surrounds it. The occurrence of funereal deposits within the city walls—Roman as they undoubtedly are—has always been a subject of perplexity when considered in relation to the Roman law of sepulture; and one of the best authenticated discoveries of this kind, that of Sir Christopher Wren on the site of St. Paul's, has been questioned upon this very account. "I cannot think," says Mr. Pennant, "that the urns found near St. Paul's were funereal; if they were so, the Roman walls must have been much further to the east than they are generally supposed to have been placed, which by no means appears to have been the fact." Professor Woodward, in his excellent letter on the remains found near Bishopsgate (on the other side of the city), argues, *è converso*, that the wall must at some time have been further to the west, *because* the sepulchral urns which he describes were found inside the present wall: and he adds the following judicious remark: "As from these urns here, so from those of late years brought to light in great numbers on the other sides of the town, some advances may be made towards ascertaining the old boundaries of it there; and, by a careful collation of all, towards adjusting the form, and settling the extent of the whole."

Frequent as these discoveries have been,<sup>c</sup> I am not aware that they have been frequently made, if at all, upon that portion of the city to which we now advert, or within those limits which will hereafter be more particularly defined. If no funereal

<sup>a</sup> London is now liable to casualties of a different kind, and by one of these the topography of this neighbourhood will soon be materially changed.

<sup>b</sup> Traces of a Roman hard way, identical in width and direction with Cannon Street, were observed when that street was dug across in 1834.—See *Archæologia*, vol. XXV. p. 602.

<sup>c</sup> See *Archæologia*, vol. XXIX. pp. 146, 219, 268.



urns have occurred there, a distinction between this and other parts of the city is established particularly favourable to the hypothesis of a first and second line of inclosure.

Of such an enlargement of plan, the successive walls of Rome are of course the most striking example; but many others would probably be found in the provinces of the Empire, and particularly in cities of colonial rank.<sup>a</sup> The existence of one Roman wall is therefore no reason against the prior existence of another wall of less extent in the same city, made under different circumstances and for a different purpose. If then enough has appeared to indicate the site of a first and smaller station, we are at liberty to infer that, as a military post, it was surrounded by a wall, in the same manner and probably about the same time as other military stations were so surrounded.

The description already given of the place which I am inclined to consider as the original site of London will have suggested the idea of a regular *castrum* or *castellum*, the form of which would be a parallelogram whose longest diameter was parallel with the river.<sup>b</sup> The character of the site, and the disposition of the ground, will require more particular notice.

Beginning on the West, its natural boundary was the eastern bank of the Walbrook, whose traditional name we shall neither derive from Livius Gallus, one of Geoffrey Monmouth's captains, nor, with Stowe, from the circumstance of the brook passing the exterior wall of the city: but rather from another wall, alongside of which it flowed, and to which it served as a foss or moat—the wall of the first military London. There is reason to believe that the channel of the Walbrook, in this part of its course, was a deep gully or ravine, scoured with considerable force by floods from the undrained moors above; and we have testimony to this effect as late as the time of Stowe, who records the fate of a young man carried away and lost in the stream. It is the width of this channel that separates the end of Watling Street

<sup>a</sup> They are probably rare in Britain. The enlargement at Lincoln (if the common accounts are correct) was rather an additional camp; but at Verulam an extension of site has no doubt taken place of the same kind as that at London; and the same facts, as to sepulchral deposits, are said to have been disclosed in the course of Abbot Eadmar's excavation in the tenth century. "Invenerunt fossores, in fundamentis veterum ædificiorum et concavitatibus subterraneis, . . . vasa vitrea, pulverem mortuorum continentia."—Matth. Paris, *Vitæ Abbatum S. Albani*, ed. Wats, p. 41.

<sup>b</sup> An opinion is ascribed by his biographer to Sir Christopher Wren, that the causeway discovered at Bow Church ran along the north boundary of London. In what follows, the writer appears to consider the city, as to breadth, with reference to its first state, but as to length, with reference to its later condition, and the result is a manifest disproportion of the one to the other.—See *Parentalia*, p. 264.

from the beginning of Cannon Street, the name being changed at this precise point;<sup>a</sup> nor can we fail to observe, as the course of the Watling Street bears so marked a relation to this district, that at the same place it receives that kind of bend or inflexion so often to be found where a military way falls upon the works of a camp.<sup>b</sup> The Watling Street was no doubt connected with the station by a bridge; and for ages afterwards the same means of communication existed at nearly the same place. Stowe informs us that Horse-shoe-bridge Street, near St. John's upon Walbrook, is so called "of such a bridge sometime over the brooke there."<sup>c</sup> This is a little below the end of Cannon Street. He says also, "There have beene divers bridges in sundry places over the course of Walbrooke, besides Horshoee Bridge. I reade that of old time every person having lands on either side of the said brooke should cleanse the same, and mend and repaire the bridges, so far as their lands extended; and that the inhabitants upon the course of the brooke were forced to pile and wall the sides thereof."<sup>d</sup> "But since, by meanes of encroachment on the banks thereof, the channel being greatly straightned and other annoyances done thereunto, the same was arched over with bricke and paved equall with the ground, and is now in most places builded upon, that no man may by the eye discerne it."

The notoriety of this little river in early times is sufficiently manifested by the fact that the wards of the city were long divided into two classes, those east and those west of the Walbrook.<sup>e</sup> A thousand years before, struggling through bog and morass, it would have afforded no slight impediment to a hostile movement, no little security to a station on the dry plain above.

<sup>a</sup> The ancient roads from the city of Rome always took their names on leaving the gates, generally those of the old inclosure: "dalle porte della città, non già conforme ora si trovano, ma secondo il loro sito ne' tempi avanti Aureliano."—Venuti.

Thus "Via Appia incominciava dalla Porta Capena."—Marliani.

"Via Ostiense principiava dalla Porta Trigemina."—Martinelli.

"Cominciava la Via Flaminia nella gola fra il Campidoglio ed il Quirinale, alla porta del recinto di Servio ivi esistente."—Nibby.

<sup>b</sup> "Excogitandum uti portarum itinera non sint directa, sed *σκαῖα*: namque cum ita factum fuerit, tum dextrum latus accedentibus, quod scuto non erit tectum, proximum erit muro."—Vitruvius. The same arrangement is observed in approaching the later wall at Cripplegate; the military way being Red-cross Street.

<sup>c</sup> Survey of London (ed. 1633), p. 254. See also pp. 30 and 114.

<sup>d</sup> In the 19th of Edward I. an Inquisition was taken before the custos, sheriffs, and two aldermen, for the repair of Walbrook Bridge near Bucklersbury, which was decreed to be done by the owners of four particular houses near the bridge.—Lib. A. 84 b, in Archiv. Lond. A like inquisition, of the 28th of the same reign, is noticed in Stowe's Chronicle, p. 43, and other particulars in his Survey of London, p. 10.

<sup>e</sup> So in the Rotuli Placitorum, 14 Edw. III. memb. 18, in Archiv. Lond. "Nomina communariorum ex parte orientali de Walebrok," and "ex parte occidentali de Walebrok."



The lower end of the street called Walbrook brings us into a locality whose name is probably connected with this western limit in a more particular way. The ward of Dowgate, and a street in that ward, are supposed to be so called from an ancient gate, for which a position has been commonly assumed on the bank of the Thames, as a passage to that river, and, according to Gale and others, as the way to a *trajectus* or ferry. For this opinion, now universally received, I believe there does not exist a shadow of proof or even a remote probability. It appears to rest upon no better ground than a false etymology, a compound of British and Saxon, in the first syllable of which an essential element is wanting.<sup>a</sup> But, allowing Dow-gate to be Water-gate (or by a better derivation<sup>b</sup> *Wet-gate*), it was so in reference to the Wall-brook and not to the Thames. Dowgate was the western gate of the first Roman London: and its site is to be fixed in Cannon Street, and not on the Thames bank.

Dr. Gale's position at St. Paul's school was particularly favourable to observation on the locality in question; but the result has been singularly unfortunate. Having assumed that Dowgate was a gate *upon* or *fronting* the Thames, and given it a foundation (none of the best, indeed,) in the sedgy confines of the Walbrook, the learned commentator lays down an impossible road by Moorgate—across the Finsbury pools—northward. This, he concludes, would form four cross-ways with Watling Street or a street to Aldgate; and remarks that the Roman surveyors laid out these four roads, being as many as they were accustomed to make, according to their practice in planning cities. Now the course here described for a road would have been for the most part the line of the brook; and, could such a road have existed, it would not have been, as he represents it, "*juxta milliarium nostrum*," close by London Stone: the stone was not "*in mediis tetrantibus*," or at the intersection of the four ways, a position so very important to his theory.

Considering the valley of the Walbrook as a natural boundary to the West, the Thames will of course present a second natural boundary to the South; not indeed as marked by the flow of the waters, but as determined by the elevation of the bank, which would limit the ground available for purposes of castrametation. As this is a peculiarity not shown by maps of London, it may be well to observe that the natural

<sup>a</sup> This, like most ancient names, is found with some variations in orthography. In the earliest city records it is *Douegat* and *Dounegate*. The latter, which has a duplication of *u* for *w*, was probably read by Stowe as *Doungate*. But it is never *Dourgate*: and among many instances, which abound in Western Europe, where the Celtic *dwer* is really part of a name, I am not aware of one in which the *r* has been dropt in its passage into another language.

<sup>b</sup> See *Diversions of Purley*, edit. Taylor, vol. ii. p. 156.

bank of the Thames in this place had a sudden and not a gradual rise from the shore, the acclivity being at some distance from the present frontage of the river, and even from Thames Street. Towards the east in particular, the church of St. Dunstan may be considered as marking the line of cliff in that direction; and, notwithstanding the levelling tendency of a long occupation, the same line may still be traced in ascending some of the lanes from Thames Street. Beyond this church, the high ground recedes from the river; and we may be supposed to have passed the boundary of the camp, the proportions of which, with Cannon Street as a long diameter, would not require a greater extension.

The nature of the ground, and the probable extent of the station being thus far generally indicated, we must look for its Eastern limit between the wards of Tower and Billingsgate. And here, as on the western side, we have in the name of a ward that of an unknown gate—or in this instance one known only to fabulous history, which I shall at once appropriate to the uses of this paper.

It is remarkable that our topographers have rarely associated any idea with the name Billingsgate other than that of a dock or haven for boats, such as we find delineated on the older maps, and the site of which is now occupied by a well-known market. Camden, describing the gates of London, concludes his account as follows: “Ad Tamisin duas etiam portas extitisse credunt, Belings-gate, nunc cothorn recipiendis navibus, et Dourgate, id est, aquaria porta, vulgò Dowgate.” “Billingsgate,” says Stowe, “is at this present a large watergate, port, or harbour for ships and boats, commonly arriving there with fish.” These definitions we cannot hesitate to reject as vague and insufficient. If that which is the subject of definition could be classed among gates, it could not have become a dock or basin for ships. Mr. Pennant says, “I must confess there does not appear any record of a gate at this place,” meaning on the water-side; and he adds that “gate here signifies only a place where there was a concourse of people.” To this conclusion also we must demur. The word *gate* has a different meaning in London and in York; but we do not find it employed in different senses in the topographical language of the same place, and must take it in London with its ordinary London sense.

We will now refer to the fabulous history—seldom wanting in minuteness, and not always in truth of detail and circumstance. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us that King Belinus “made in the city of Trinovantum a gate (*januam*) of wonderful structure, upon the bank of the Thames, which the citizens, after his name, call Belins-gate to this day. Upon it he built a prodigious large tower, and down below



at foot, a harbour fit for ships.”<sup>a</sup> Of the same story there is the following very curious version in Layamon, and of nearly the same antiquity. “He” (Belin) “proceeded right to London, the burgh he loved greatly. He began there a tower, the strongest of all the town, and with much art a gate thereunder made. Then men called it Belinsgate; now and ever more the name standeth there.”<sup>b</sup> It is quite possible that this is a pure invention, suggested by a name in current use. But does not the existence of the name when Geoffrey wrote amount to a tradition from Saxon times that the place in question had been distinguished by a building of a particular class? If so, there can be no doubt that Billingsgate was a Roman gate, the eastern entrance to the first *Londinium*, corresponding in position with Dowgate on the west.

In the former of these two accounts there is some ambiguity, but they both expressly include the idea of a large and massy structure, with a passage-way; the term employed by Geoffrey, “*januam miræ fabricæ*,” being precise, and capable of no other signification. For the site of such a structure we are certainly not to look within the confines of the market, the soil of which has been all reclaimed from the river:<sup>c</sup> its place must be found on the solid land above; and, if we take the tradition at all, we must take it with reference to a real building in this situation, and for the purpose already described. It must not be inferred that an earlier gate would necessarily be destroyed by the Romans themselves, in their later and more extended operations, for in Rome itself these gates were suffered to remain.<sup>d</sup> Nor would its destruction be a necessary consequence of the Saxon conquest. The Roman cities at that time either entered into composition with the invader, and remained unhurt, or were totally ruined and abandoned. Mr. Wright’s researches

<sup>a</sup> “Fecit et in urbe Trinovanto januam miræ fabricæ super ripam Tamensis fluvii, quam de nomine suo cives temporibus istis Belinesgate vocant. Desuper verò ædificavit turrin miræ magnitudinis, portumque subtus ad pedem, applicantibus navibus idoneum.”—Lib. iii. From the latter clause it may be inferred that the tower and the haven were in different places, one on higher ground than the other. This would not appear from the common translation.

<sup>b</sup> Layamon’s Brut, by Sir Frederic Madden, vol. i. p. 258.

<sup>c</sup> Leland, embarrassed by the “prodigious large tower” of Geoffrey, is not unwilling to consider it as the Tower of London, a location open to the same objection.

<sup>d</sup> Varro mentions three such in the Pomærium. The Porta Lavernale, according to Nardini, was built instead of the Porta Trigemina, “*restando la Trigemina in piedi inutile, come da Vittore e da Rufo ci si dimostra.*” tom. i. p. 97. It is not unlikely that some of the gates of Servius Tullius survived the fall of the Empire; converted, perhaps, into honorary or triumphal arches, but preserving a continuity of existence. The site of the Esquiline gate (one of the Tullian inclosure) appears to be not distinguishable from that of the Arch of Gallienus. (See Nibby, *Mura*, p. 156, and 157 note.)

on this subject deserve an application more important than the present ; but I may be permitted to quote them as showing that London was never ravaged by the Saxons, and that even the Danes were repulsed in one of their earlier attacks, "with more harm and evil than they ever imagined that any *burhwaru* would be able to do them." <sup>a</sup> It is therefore no improbable conjecture that a gate called Billing's Gate <sup>b</sup> subsisted within some part of the Saxon period ; and how else can we account for the fact of its having a Saxon name ?

With regard to Dowgate and Billingsgate, it is clear that no such two material existing gates were reckoned among the later gates of London. According to Fitz-Stephen, these were seven, and their names occur in the earliest of the city records.<sup>c</sup> Seven are also enumerated by Camden, who adds that some persons believe two gates to have existed on the Thames, namely, Belinsgate and Dowgate. Nor is there any reason to believe in one of these more than the other ; they are both traditional, and both had a real existence or neither. But, though not reckoned among our city gates, it is an important fact that they stand in a relation to the nomenclature of wards which in other cases is occupied exclusively by known gates of the Roman period.<sup>d</sup> To these the names invariably refer ; and, as the titles of wards, Dowgate and Billingsgate can only be consistently explained by supposing a like reference to buildings of the same class, long since forgotten.

Along the Northern side of the station whose extremities we have now explored was a tract of comparatively high ground, the ridge of Cornhill, backed by an extensive fen or morass, Finsbury or Moorfields. But its immediate frontage on the north was towards a brook or water-course known as the Lang-bourn, the product of a number of springs lying to the north-east, beyond our eastern gate. According

<sup>a</sup> On the Existence of Municipal Privileges under the Anglo-Saxons ; *Archæologia*, vol. XXXII. pp. 304—6.

<sup>b</sup> The Billingas are one of the *mares* or *claus* whose names occur in Kemble's *Saxons in England*. See Appendix to the first volume.

<sup>c</sup> 15 Edw. I. An Ordinance for keeping the city gates by men selected from the several wards ; viz.

|                     |               |
|---------------------|---------------|
| Ludgate et Neugate. | Bissopesgate. |
| Aldridesgate.       | Alegate.      |
| Crepelgate.         | Porta Pontis. |

Those at which night-watch was kept (probably for the purpose of admitting travellers) were Ludgate, Cripplegate, Aldgate, and Bridge.—Lib. A. fo. 135, in *Archiv. Lond.* As far back as the reign of King Ethelred we find a like provision as to *two* of the gates of London—"Ealdredesgate et Cripelesgate, *i. e.* portas illas observabunt custodes."—*De Inst. London.* ; Thorpe's *Antient Laws*, &c. p. 127.

<sup>d</sup> It is remarkable that Newgate, though as old as the reign of Henry II., has never given name to a separate ward, like the gates of Roman origin. It occurs in a list of the wards 1 Edw. I., but conjointly with Ludgate : "Ward de Lodgate et Neugat."



to Stowe, this was "a long boorn of sweet water, which of old time, breaking out into Fenne-church Street, ranne downe the same street, and Lombard Street, to the west end of S. Mary Woolnoth's church; where, turning south, and breaking into small shares, rills, or streams, it left the name of Shareborne Lane, or Southborne Lane (as I have read), because it ranne south to the river of Thames."

The existence of some such run of water is fully confirmed both by the name and the peculiar form of the ward of Langbourn, which extends as a long narrow slip in the same direction as that assigned to the boorn. The course indicated by Stowe is however by no means a probable one, as the ground lies; his rivulet encounters a rising ground, and his theory a manifest impossibility. The natural drainage of the land producing the springs—the fen of Fenchurch Street—would have been to the south-east, probably from about Mark Lane, and in the direction of the Tower. It would have been concurrent with, and not opposed to, the course of the Thames. The difficulty here stated can only be explained on the supposition that the waters of the fen had been directed into an artificial bed.<sup>a</sup> That such a work had relation to the neighbouring encampment is far from improbable. The stream was conducted to the vallum of the camp, and, passing along the whole north side of the fortress, fell at length into the Walbrook, its natural vallum and moat on the west.

With regard to Sherbourn Lane, our author's "rills, rillets, and small streams," would have met with the same obstruction as the boorn itself in the former part of its progress: the ground is almost the highest in the neighbourhood. We must therefore look upon this as a fanciful conjecture suggested by the name of the street. For Southbourn, the other name assigned, I can find no trace of authority. In all probability the Lang-bourn was carried directly west, passing under the present Mansion-House, the foundations of which, though not in the channel of the Walbrook, are known to have been laid upon piles and planking,<sup>b</sup> a sufficient proof of the condition of the soil.

In another part of the invaluable "Survay," we are told by Stowe that "Fenne-church Street tooke that name of a fenny or moorish ground; and therefore (untill this day) in the Guildhall of this citie that ward is called by the name of Lang-

<sup>a</sup> Since this was written I have learned that the same opinion is entertained by Mr. Kelsey, late Surveyor to the Commission of Sewers.

<sup>b</sup> March 21, 1738. A subcommittee had viewed the ground, and reported that "there will be a necessity for piling and planking the greatest part thereof, to lay the foundations upon."—Jor. 58, fo. 125 b. This work was so considerable as to cause "a combination amongst workmen, to raise the price of piling and planking."—Jor. 58, fo. 133.

bourne and *Fenny-about*, and not otherwise." Of these appellations the latter is now unknown<sup>a</sup>; but so strange a term can hardly be passed without notice, for can we believe it a mere creation of the fancy? In its original form, *Fenny-about* would be *pennig ýmbutan*: the latter word, *ýmbutan*, is both *circa* and *extra*, and is used relatively, or in relation to some object or locality.<sup>b</sup> The tract of *fenny* ground is outside and around, or outside and along, a known limit. There is nothing here to supply the required limit but the wall or bank of the ancient city; and if, as Dr. Stukeley tells us, the Mansion House was built in a ditch, we shall be in some measure prepared to look for the vallum of our camp, and to fix one of its corners at no great distance.

The view which has now been taken must be regarded as the general survey of a *position*. It has not included some particulars which might serve to identify the *station*; but these will be considered with more advantage if its limits can at all be defined: and this may perhaps be attempted in a future communication.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

ARTHUR TAYLOR.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. &c.  
Sec. S.A.

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## LETTER II.

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Read Dec. 14th and 21st, 1848.

DEAR SIR,

London, October, 1848.

HAVING adverted in a former letter to some of the characteristics which would mark a first settlement on the banks of the Thames, I ventured on the following conclusions:

That the station *Londinium* was on the north side of the river, and on the high ground east of the Walbrook.

That it had two successive inclosures; the first, that of a *castellum* or camp, the latter, which encompassed the Roman city, being the lately-existing wall of London.

<sup>a</sup> Maitland, upon no discoverable authority, *asserts* that the ward is so "enrolled in the city records." In the same loose way he borrows from Stowe Southbourn, but without his cautionary note.

<sup>b</sup> So in Bede, "*wic mið ðice ȝ mið eorþ-pealle utan ýmbrealde*;" *mansionem fossâ et aggere ab extra circumvallavit*.



That the camp, though not at first yet afterwards, was defended by a wall and gates. And it was suggested, as matter of further inquiry, that some indications of the form and limits of the camp might possibly be found in this part of the city.

Of what was thus advanced, some particulars have since been confirmed by reports of observations made by Mr. Kelsey, and to which I had then no means of access. From these we learn that on the north of Lombard Street was a place of burial; and this, which can only be assigned to the first period of the history of the settlement, decisively proves that it could not have reached beyond that street.<sup>a</sup> The discovery of the gravel-pit on the site of the Exchange tends to the same conclusion; for neither in its first condition, nor as a pond for refuse matter, would it ever exist within the precinct of a camp. In describing the Wall-brook,<sup>b</sup> I had not the advantage of knowing that "the sewerage excavations at Tower Royal and Little St. Thomas Apostle discovered the channel to be 248 feet wide;" that "the form of the banks was perfectly to be traced;" and that they were "covered with rank grass and weeds."

Such are the kind of facts that isolate the ground; and the names of Dowgate and Billingsgate, near its extremities, represent traditions from Saxon times of the western and eastern gates of the camp. The course of the wall which connected these gates can only be matter of conjecture; but some imaginary line is necessary to this second inquiry; and, in attempting to trace it, we shall be considering the form and limits of the station. In doing this, little will be gained from ancient remains, which show rather the continuous occupation of the city through a long course of years than the plan or position of public works. There are some indications, however, of a different kind, which may often occur; and, though not available as evidence, cannot be wholly disregarded. Certain points in our present local divisions, and in some of the parish boundaries, are singularly coincident with such a line of inclosure as would suit the form and disposition of the ground: and the question may fairly arise whether any possible connexion of cause and effect, however remote, has existed between them.

Of the origin of ward divisions nothing appears to be known. The institution of parishes in the province of Canterbury, whether by Honorius the fourth<sup>c</sup> or

<sup>a</sup> From another source (Knight's London, vol. i. p. 159) it appears that "urns are said to have been found under a tessellated pavement near the church of St. Dunstan's in the East." Our ground, therefore, both on the north and east, is *precisely* limited by funereal deposits: they have also occurred in several places west of the Wall-brook.

<sup>b</sup> See the First Letter, p. 104.

<sup>c</sup> Ridley, Civ. and Eccl. Law, with Gregory's notes, p. 216; Harpsfield, Hist. Eccl. p. 741.

Theodore the sixth <sup>a</sup> archbishop from Augustine, is referred to the middle or latter end of the seventh century : we must therefore conclude that from this time they began to exist, and in London as soon as elsewhere. But the antiquity of the London parishes is discovered in the names of dedication borne by their churches. Some of these, as St. Clement and St. Martin, are usually associated with foundations of the earliest date,<sup>b</sup> and belong to the British as well as the Saxon church. Those of St. Leonard, St. Laurence, St. Dionis, and St. Benet also bespeak an early foundation ; and in the district now referred to are likewise the names of Botolph, Dunstan, Edmund the King, and Swithun. It can hardly be said that these are other than Saxon foundations ; nor can we well deny to the rest the same antiquity which belongs to the same dedications in other places. The erection of parishes is placed by Spelman <sup>c</sup> at about 673, or 227 years from the abandonment of Britain by the Romans. It is this period only—or, with all needful allowance, one of three centuries—that separates the works of the Empire from the institutions of Saxon Christianity and from civil and social arrangements never since disturbed. This period also, the darkest in our history, may for the remaining Roman colonies be justly regarded as one of mere existence,<sup>d</sup> and as that in which the least change would occur in the state and condition of their public works. It is in after times, and not in the first part of the Saxon age, that the traces of Roman occupation would have gradually disappeared. The successive burnings of London, in 982, in 1087, and in 1135, and the rebuilding after each fire, would have obliterated such Roman remains as had not been already destroyed in the renovation of the city by Alfred the Great in 886 ; but up to that time they were no doubt existing to a considerable extent. In the seventh or eighth century there might still remain, in the condition of the ground or the enduring qualities of Roman work, that which would sensibly affect the shape and alignment of property, and consequently the limits

<sup>a</sup> Spelman, *Concilia*, &c. 1639, p. 152. “Perhibent etiam antiquitates Ecclesiæ Cantuariæ Theodorum istum Cantuariensem provinciam per parochias primùm distribuisse : fierique hoc designat Stowus haud longè post excessum Ercomberti regis Cantiorum, cui malè non quadrabunt priores anni pontificatus Theodori.” Dr. Brett (*Church Government*, p. 171), and Dr. Kennett (*Case of Impropriations*, p. 5), are for a more gradual origin : however this might be, we find a large increase in the number of churches before the time of the Confessor ; “Multis in locis modo sunt tres vel quatuor ecclesiæ ubi tunc temporis una tantum erat.”—Spelman, *Concilia*, p. 621. FitzStephen reckoned 126, “tum in Lundonia tum in suburbano.”

<sup>b</sup> This is remarkably the case at Worcester, where with buildings of very high antiquity we also find, as names of dedication, St. Clement, St. Helen, St. Alban, St. Martin, and several which occur in this part of London.

<sup>c</sup> Spelman, *Concil.* p. 152.

<sup>d</sup> London is not even mentioned in history from 616 to 764 ; at least so Maitland informs us.



assigned to parish churches of this date,—which under these circumstances are found in connection with the subject before us.

In surveying the supposed site of this station, few points could be laid down as less uncertain than others. One of these, its Eastern limit, might be fixed at the junction of the wards of Tower and Billingsgate. The boundaries of these two wards appear to indicate for some extent a precise frontier line; and, if not at the beginning of Tower Street, on some part of this line the eastern gate must have stood. Lower down, it is intersected by Cross Lane; and, if the wall extended so far south, traces of it may yet be found near the middle of this lane, at No. 11, and between the parish and ward boundary-marks on the opposite sides of the way.<sup>a</sup>

From the East Gate northwards, the wall would have reached a point corresponding with the middle of Rood Lane: it would have then run to the westward, across that lane and also Philpot Lane: and nearly on this line are the parochial boundaries of St. Andrew Hubbard and St. Dionis Backchurch. In the month of July 1845, I was told that a six-foot wall, and very hard, had been cut through in making a sewer at this part of Philpot Lane, the wall crossing the street from east to west, a few paces north of the parish mark on the west side. If the facts were as related, it is obvious what inference they suggest. Pursuing this course to the west, the wall would have traversed Gracechurch Street, and passing Clement's Lane at a third of its length from Lombard Street, would have crossed Nicholas Lane at the church, Abchurch Lane, and that part of Swithin's Lane which is near Ball Alley. It would have nearly included New Court, and have met the western wall not far from the south-east corner of the Mansion-House.

The valley of the Walbrook is in general terms our boundary on the West. We have now to consider the position of the wall with regard to its distance from the brook; and in this connexion the well-known LONDON STONE may properly come under notice, standing, as it does, near the western end of the camp.

The precise character of this singular relique has never been established by any indubitable marks,<sup>b</sup> yet by common consent it has always passed for a Roman milliary stone: and, if its standing on the line of the Watling Street be taken in confirmation of this opinion, the existence of such a stone must confirm our views

<sup>a</sup> There is a Roman wall under the foot pavement on the east side of St. Mary's Hill; but probably not the exterior wall of the encampment.

<sup>b</sup> It has never, perhaps, been examined but by Sir Christopher Wren; and "the Surveyor was of opinion, by reason of the large foundation, it was rather some more considerable monument."—*Parentalia*, p. 265.

with regard to the street in which it is placed. We are also told that London Stone, like the pillar of Augustus in the Roman Forum, was a central or radiating point from which the distances were measured on the several roads in every direction.<sup>a</sup> Dr. Gale quotes Camden to this effect,<sup>b</sup> and they rely on what was in Camden's time the common belief of the learned as to the Roman pillar, the uses of which had never then been brought in question. The slightest hint from the author of the *Britannia* may well be valued by those who edit Histories of London; but his opinion in this case, though founded on the best knowledge of his age, is retailed by our modern writers with an utter disregard of all recent authorities, and of the discoveries of later times. At the end of the seventeenth century this subject was fully investigated and discussed by Lucas Holstenius and Fabretti; and their conclusions, adopted by Ryckius and Piriscus, led to the now general opinion that the *Milliarium Aureum* had a different use from that once ascribed to it—that it was in fact a tabular index of roads and not a mile-stone—and that the miles at Rome were measured, not from the Forum, but from the ancient gates of the city.<sup>c</sup> By no analogy, therefore, is London Stone a central point for the purpose above described; and for any purpose, it was central only in relation to the Roman city in its full developement, under the later emperors. In connexion with the first inclosure, its use as a milliary stone is hardly apparent; but if it were really such, a position near

<sup>a</sup> See a communication dated in 1797, by Mr. Fox of Salters' Hall, republished and adopted in Gibson's *Durobrivæ*, 1819, p. 37.

<sup>b</sup> The passage in Camden is as follows: "— haud procul à saxo illo *London Stone*, quod miliarium fuisse, cujusmodi Romæ in Foro erat, à quo omnium itinerum sumebatur dimensio, existimamus, cum in media urbe sit, quâ in longum procurrit."—*Britannia*, ed. 1607, p. 304. See Gale, *Iter Brit.* p. 89. Burton likewise refers to Camden (*Comment. on Ant. Itin.* 1658, pp. 31 and 173), but not without raising a doubt with regard to the pillar at Rome.

<sup>c</sup> Or, in the explicit words of Fabretti, "non à Milliaro Aureo in capite Fori, uti multi putarunt, sed à *veteri portarum situ*, ante productionem mœniorum ab Aureliano factam."—*De Acquæduct.* (1680) num. 243. It is to one of these very gates that Festus the Grammarian refers, under the word *Initium*, when he defines it "Quo quid incipiat; ut Viæ Appiæ Porta Capena." We have already had occasion to notice this commencement of the roads in relation to the names by which they are known (see note p. 105); and the inference cannot be avoided, that where the roads began there should begin the computation of distance.

The conclusions above stated were controverted at some length by the Canon Mazzocchi in 1755. One of his objections, founded on the inconvenience of measurement from a variable boundary, is, I think, anticipated by Fabretti, in the passage cited above. In relying on a passage of Pliny, referable, not to the roads of Italy, but to the contents of the city—the *ambitus Urbis*—as taken from a central point, it rather appears that Mazzocchi was at a loss for means of attack: at all events his learned exertion, as we know from the common books of reference, has not changed the course of opinion. See Guattani, tom. i. p. 22; Venuti, parte i. *Introd.* p. xxii.; Nibby, *Del Foro Romano*, p. 106.



one of the gates, and at the beginning of a line of road, would seem to be that which the supposition requires.

The point selected for our western limit would not be inconsistent with this allocation; but it is determined on different grounds. The level of the street directs us to some spot between Turnwheel Lane and Salters'-hall Court, and here we have the parochial division of Saint Mary Bothaw and Saint Swithin, the boundary on one side of the street being three houses removed from the line of boundary on the other,<sup>a</sup> that which is more to the east nearly facing Salters'-hall Court. It is in this interval that I should place the West Gate of the camp, and on a line reaching from Scots Yard to the wall on the northern side.

Whether London, at any time, had a wall on its river front, has been the subject of some controversy.<sup>b</sup> The affirmative of the question has rested on a passage in the Description of London by FitzStephen, or rather on Camden's interpretation of the passage,<sup>c</sup> by which FitzStephen is made to say that remains of such a wall were to be seen when he wrote, in the reign of Henry the Second. What he really says is as follows:—"In like manner London was walled and turreted on the south: but the great fish-abounding Thames, by influx and reflux of the sea, which runs thitherward, in the course of time washed up to, undermined, and threw down those walls."<sup>d</sup> It is evident that this does not bear out Camden's representation. FitzStephen by no means asserts that any remains appeared in his own time; and, upon whatever grounds he might have believed in the existence of a southern wall, both the position he gives it, and his account of its destruction, are to all appearance conjectural. The discussions of later time, by a constant reference to this account, have been limited to the question of a wall in one particular place—on the low ground, and at the water's edge.<sup>e</sup> For such a location it does not appear that any evidence has been produced, on any part of the line which would affect our present

<sup>a</sup> As if taken, in one case, outside the vallum, and in the other from the wall itself.

<sup>b</sup> See Maitland, vol. i. p. 20, and Salmon's New Survey, 1728, p. 101; also Dr. Pegge's translation of Stephanides.

<sup>c</sup> "Horum mœnium, pars quæ Tamisi prætendebatur perpetuâ fluminis alluvione, penitus concidit; ejus reliquias Henrici Secundi tempore apparuisse scripsit qui tunc vixit FitzStephanus. Reliqua pars superest."—Camden, *Britannia*, ed. 1607, p. 304.

<sup>d</sup> "Similiterque ab Austro Londonia murata et turrita fuit; sed fluvius maximus piscosus Thamensis, mari influo refluxoque qui illac allabatur, mœnia illa tractu temporis alluit, labefactavit, dejecit."—Stephanides, from the text of Stowe, *Survey*, p. 704, and Hearne, in *Leland's Itin.* vol. viii.

<sup>e</sup> "Another wall," says Mr. Pennant, "ran near the river side, along Thames Street, quite to the eastern extremity." And again, "The southern side was guarded by a wall close to the river."—*London* (8vo edit.) pp. 10 and 485.

inquiry.<sup>a</sup> On the site of the Custom House, lines of wooden embankment were found, and a wall of chalk, faced with Purbeck stone, unlikely to be Roman; there was not, however, a trace of any important structure throughout the whole of the enormous area then laid open.<sup>b</sup> In the present year a piece of ground has been cleared on the other side of Thames Street, large enough to test the whole of the shore. In the course of this excavation, which in space and depth was all that could be required, no trace was discovered of the wall or any part of its foundation. It was scarcely to be expected that on this trial we should prove a negative; yet even this may be said to have occurred in the discovery of a Roman Bath and Sudatory, with other buildings attached to it, extending some sixty feet across the line such a wall must have taken, and the existence of which it therefore appears to disprove.

A southern wall of the first or military station, though parallel with the river, would have been on the high ground. The steepness of the shore has been already described; and the late excavation, at its furthest inland extremity, laid bare the base of a gravel bank which rose to the level of the camp above. The top of this bank is pretty clearly marked by the succession of churches which look upon the river; and here, if anywhere, the wall would have stood.

It was not unlikely that some change might have taken place on the Thames bank in rebuilding the city after the fire of 1666; as instructions were then issued for a general regulation of the levels and drainage.<sup>c</sup> On getting access to this very curious document I found on all the hills running down to Thames Street (except Fish Street) an "abatement" of the level, sometimes of four feet, and at an average distance from that street of about eighty or ninety yards. On comparing the directions with the map made by the same authority (and heretofore published by this Society) it appeared that the points of abatement were nearly in a line one with another, showing a ridge of the bank, whether natural or otherwise, beyond or below

<sup>a</sup> Some of the observations of Mr. Smith (*Archæologia*, vol. XXIX. p. 151) go far to prove the existence of a wall in Thames Street, at various points between Lambeth Hill and Queen Street. But these are all *west* of the Wall-brook; and, in the absence of any such discovery *east*, they rather confirm the view we have taken, that in this latter direction the south wall must have had a different site.

<sup>b</sup> See Laing's Description of the new Custom House.

<sup>c</sup> "Rules and Directions for the pitching and levelling the Streets and Lanes of the City of London, for the more easie and convenient current and conveyance away of the waters thereof: By the Commissioners and Surveyors hereunto appointed, 1667." The following are a specimen of these Directions:

"Laurence Pountney Lane.—To be *raised*, in Thames Street 4 foot; at 157ft. 3ft. 7. And *abated*, at 261ft. 11 inches; at 361, 4 foot; at Cannon Street 1 foot.

"Bush Lane.—To be *raised*, in Thames Street 3 foot; at 103ft. 2ft. And to be *abated*, at 203ft. 8 inches; at 303, 4ft. 4; in Cannon Street, nothing."



which a large wall could not be conveniently placed. Our supposed boundary would have therefore crossed the lanes which run down from Cannon Street, above the parish marks (which occur in several, about thirty yards from Thames Street), but still in the lower half of their length. From such a point in Botolph Lane it would have passed near the Monument; then across Martin's Lane and the others in succession, till it met the western side at or near Checquer Alley, and would thus have included Scots Yard, and the greater part of Bush Lane.

In connexion with the places last mentioned will doubtless be remembered some very important discoveries of ancient remains. They are supposed to be the same as those seen and described by Dr. Gale, soon after the Fire of London, and of their second discovery a few years since two several accounts are to be found in the *Transactions of this Society*.<sup>a</sup> It is difficult without a plan to follow the details which are given: but the principal fact is that of a wall of unusual thickness crossing Bush Lane at a point nearly opposite Scots Yard. There were other remains of Roman work; but these are pronounced to have been "long posterior to the erection of the great wall crossing the lane," which those who saw it appear to have regarded as an exterior wall, or some work of defence, "perverted from its primary destination at some period during the Roman dynasty."<sup>b</sup> With these characteristics it occurs upon the line which has been here adopted, and for other reasons, as the probable boundary of the station.<sup>c</sup>

But there is more to say. The discoveries in Bush Lane were in a neighbourhood distinguished by the very significant name of COLEHARBOUR, and under that name as a separate precinct or liberty, until it was incorporated with the City of London by a charter of James the First. The occupation of the ground has been no less remarkable. Coldharbour is mentioned in the reign of Edward the Second as a capital messuage. It was the site of a magnificent house, built or occupied by Sir John Poultney in the reign of Edward the Third, and afterwards conveyed by him, as his whole tenement called Cold Herberghe, to Bohun Earl of Hereford. It was granted by Henry the Fourth to his son the Prince of Wales, by the title of "quoddam hospitium sive placeam vocatam le Coldeherbergh:" and again by Richard the Third to the College of Herald's, as "a messuage with appurtenances, called

<sup>a</sup> Gale, *Iter Britanniarum*, 1709, p. 89; *Archæologia*, vol. XXIX. 1842, pp. 156 and 404.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. C. R. Smith, in *Archæologia*, vol. XXIX. p. 156.

<sup>c</sup> Maitland would gladly take it, though on a higher level, as part of the wall of FitzStephen. Mr. Roach Smith, whose paper I have been quoting, thinks that, "if ever a work of this kind, it would rather have been the northern than the southern limit. That it was not the latter," he adds, "appears clear enough." What would be the condition of a city whose *north* wall stood on the *north* bank of a river we have yet to learn!

Poultney's Inn or Cold Harbore." <sup>a</sup> Finally, the capital mansion having been pulled down, the site and precinct were put within the franchise of the city by the name of "the Inn and Liberty of Coldherberge, otherwise Coldharbrough, and Coldharborough Lane." I am rather inclined to believe that the buildings here referred to stood on the north side of Thames Street, and their appurtenances (including a quay or wharf, with a passage to the river) on the south of that street. To these would have belonged an arched gate, of which we read in connexion with the church of Allhallows the Less. <sup>b</sup>

There was another property, which for our present purpose has an equal claim to notice—the "great old house called the ERBAR," held successively by the Scropes, and the Nevilles of Raby, Warwick, and Salisbury. According to Stowe, this was on the east side of Dowgate Street, "neere to the church of St. Mary Bothaw," and next it "a lane turning to Bush Lane, now called Chequer Alley." <sup>c</sup> The several points here named would include Scots Yard; and, in conjunction with the tenement of Coleharbour, a district of some extent on both sides of Bush Lane.

It is evident that Erbar and Coleharbour, as the names of properties, were used with a technical limitation; and in the same way, on a division of the Poultney estate, one portion acquired a new title, as the Manor of the Rose. But it might be conjectured that in some distant age there was a connexion between all these properties, including their several appurtenances on the river side: and the rather, as we find that the Nevilles, lords of the Erbar estate, near Scots Yard, and in another parish, were patrons of Allhallows the Great, <sup>d</sup> the principal mansion in

<sup>a</sup> See Stowe's Survey (Dowgate Ward) p. 252; Pennant's Account of London, p. 460; Noble's College of Arms, p. 54; and Dr. Wilson's History of the Parish of St. Laurence Pountney, 1831, chap. xvii.

<sup>b</sup> Philip St. Clare, in the 20th of Richard II. gave two messuages *in the ropery*, pertaining to the Cold Harbrough, for enlarging this church and the church yard.—Stowe, p. 252.

The parcels of property south of Thames Street appear to be distinguished from the capital messuage itself, in the first instance, as "the purtenances within the gate, with the key which Robert Hertford had:" and afterwards Sir John Poultney grants "his whole tenement called Cold Harbrough, *with* all the tenements and key adjoining, and appurtenances, sometime pertaining to Hertford, on the way called Hay-wharfe lane," (now Campion Lane).—Stowe, p. 252. Dr. Wilson considers the ground *south* of Thames Street as the site of the mansion. And there certainly is a large building in that situation in a view of London by Visscher; but this is not represented in Aggas's View, or in a still older one, now about to be published, by Van den Wyngreerde.

<sup>c</sup> Stowe's Survey (Dowgate Ward), p. 249, and pp. 246, 247. St. Mary Bothaw was in Turnwheel Lane; the churchyard behind abutting upon Scots Yard, which is all in this parish: and it is called St. Mary Bothaw "by the Erbar." (Stowe, 246.) According to Hatton the church was in Walbrook ward, but part of the parish in Dowgate ward. (New View, &c. p. 558.)

<sup>d</sup> Noorthouck's Hist. of London, 1773, p. 613.



which was Sir John Poultney's tenement the Coleharbour. It would be singular enough if the Roman remains of this district should be found extending under its surface. In the present month a further discovery in Suffolk Lane has shown what may be a continuation of some of the walls which were seen a few years ago in the adjoining street,<sup>a</sup> and which, entering the Manor of the Rose, now disappear under Merchant Taylors' School.

The name so often repeated above, Cole or Cold Harbour, though hitherto ill explained or accounted for, is known to be remarkably suggestive and significant in its general connexion with ancient military works; and its occurrence here would seem to point out this spot as one marked by something more conspicuous or more durable than lines of encampment which time had perhaps effaced, and the makers of which were unknown or forgotten. Such would have been that kind of mount so often met with at a corner of the older Roman camps—generally, I think, the south-western; and here, in that position, overlooking the approach from the interior, as well as the passage of the Thames.<sup>b</sup> Or such would have been a tower of observation, a *specula*, in connexion with the line of wall. To the latter of these, as well perhaps as to some of the subsequent erections, might be referred those huge masses of construction which exceed the ordinary thickness of a wall. To the former, that inequality in the ground which, though much reduced,<sup>c</sup> is still to be observed in the block of houses between Great and Little Bush Lane as well as within our boundary. And to all or any of these we should also attribute the fact, if such it be, that a portion of the original wall was surrounded by later work and ultimately buried in a vast accumulation of uncleared earth and rubbish.

As a mere post of observation, the uses of this place would have ceased with the growth of the city; but a raised and commanding site was available for other purposes, and it will at once be recollected that at York the same relative position,

<sup>a</sup> September, 1848. In driving up from Thames Street for the formation of a sewer, at a depth of 17 feet, there were found three walls of Kentish rag-stone, 3 feet in thickness. The first, crossing the lane at 25 yards from Thames Street; the second, parallel with the first, 7 yards higher up the lane; the third, crossing the lane diagonally, towards the north-west, within a space of 13 yards. The lower walls were in made ground, with clay puddled against them.

<sup>b</sup> It has been a common but mistaken idea that these mounts of observation were not made by the Romans, and they are ascribed with equal want of probability to Britons, Saxons, Danes, and Normans. They were frequently occupied by the Normans, and have thus been confounded with the works of a later age.

<sup>c</sup> In the Rules and Directions before quoted there is an *abatement* in Suffolk Lane of no less than 7 feet 9 inches, at a point 97 yards from Thames Street, which is raised 3 feet. The great wall in Bush Lane, which according to report is now found at 6 feet below the street, is described by Dr. Gale as at a depth of 20 feet: "*ultra vicesimum pedem pervenerunt ad murum,*" &c.

both as regards the river and the points of the compass, is occupied by the Multangular Tower, the remnant of a building of the later Roman time, which was probably occupied by an officer of distinction in that illustrious colony.<sup>a</sup> There is somewhere a tradition that in London the palace of the British kings was in the south-west corner of the city.<sup>b</sup> This may be understood of any Roman edifice of sufficient size and pretension; and in no other place where the description would apply have any remains been found, or certainly none of the same importance with those at Coleharbour, to which, in an earlier stage of decay, the name of a palace might well have been given.<sup>c</sup>

The foregoing slight survey will have given an area, which, with a proportion of somewhat unusual length, would seem to require for the station two gates of entrance on each of the longer sides. For those on the south, we have, according to Stowe, "a water-gate, of old time called EB-GATE, and now Old Swan; a common stair on the Thames, but the passage very narrow by means of encroachments."<sup>d</sup> Ebbgate Lane is a boundary between the wards of Dowgate and Bridge, and also between the parishes of St. Lawrence Pountney<sup>e</sup> and St. Martin Orgars. In the first of these papers it was necessary to deprive Dr. Gale of his "Porta Fluminea," and his "trajectus" at Dowgate. I am now happy to restore them both at this place. With such a name, with traditions of former importance as a place of landing, and with a not unsuitable position for Roman times, we cannot but consider this as one passage from the camp to the river; and, corresponding as it does with

<sup>a</sup> See the Rev. C. Wellbeloved's *Eburacum, or York under the Romans*, 8vo. 1842. The 7th plate in this interesting and admirable work contains some centurial inscriptions upon the inner facing of the tower, one of which is read "Antonius Præfectus Militum." Since the date of this publication substructions have been uncovered which have probably given it greater importance and extent.

<sup>b</sup> See Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.* part II. p. 16.

<sup>c</sup> On considering the legend of Livius Gallus in Layamon (vol. ii. pp. 23 to 27), I think there is no doubt that the "castle" to which Livius retreated, when the "burgh" had been besieged and taken, must either mean, in its original sense, the *castellum* whose site we have endeavoured to establish, or that it was this very palace at Coleharbour. The story itself directs us to a spot near the Walbrook. Sir Frederic Madden has pointed out in his Preface that an English authority is cited for the name of the brook; and probably this is another instance of the use made of tradition by the writers of romance. More such will be found in Mr. Wright's valuable paper on the Literary History of Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Archæologia*, vol. XXXII.): that which is the subject of a note in p. 343 is singularly curious and remarkable.

<sup>d</sup> Survey (Bridge Ward), p. 231. The name occurs as early as 1197, when Wimart de Ebbgate, with others, settled 19 marks rent on the Priory of St. Mary Spital.—*Dugd. Mon.* vol. vi. p. 623.

<sup>e</sup> Of this parish, a narrow slip, about 100 feet in width, runs down to the water, alongside the passage here mentioned. See the plan in Dr. Wilson's book.



the course of the Watling Street on the opposite shore, as the true place of transit in crossing the Thames. For a second gate on this side, I know of no point more likely than Botolph Gate, “by that name so called in the time of William the Conqueror and Edward the Confessor :”<sup>a</sup> nor is anything better calculated to raise a presumption of this kind than the dedication of a neighbouring church to the Janus of Christian mythology. At this place it is also said was the head of the first known London Bridge; some indication, perhaps, of an old and available roadway from the middle of the town to the water-side.<sup>b</sup> Opposite these gates were probably others, facing the north.

However vague these speculations, and however unusual the method we have taken for tracing a Roman boundary, they will not have compromised any of the reasons with which we began. For the existence of a walled station, and on this particular site, we have the evidence drawn from funereal deposits—the direction of the military way on either shore—the tradition as to gates—the name of the Wall-brook—the tradition of a south wall—and perhaps the name of Coleharbour, in connexion with its singular Roman remains. On such grounds our two propositions might rest. In the miserable insufficiency of all that has yet been done for the history of Roman London some apology may be found for what is attempted in these papers: but they are not submitted to notice without considerable reluctance, and a full sense of imperfection. Future researches will be more successful as they are conducted with a closer regard to the occasion and design of the Roman settlements, and to the plan of such stations as are more easily investigated. And I cannot but notice one of these, which may be associated with London in all its primary characteristics; this is Rochester. From the first formation of a military road connecting the interior country with the ports of Kent, the old plan of fording at shallows was laid aside. The Thames and Medway were both encountered where they would require effective means of transport; at each place a camp was made; and, like their respective bridges in later times, the importance of these works was that which belonged to parts of a great and general undertaking. The stations themselves were not unlike in form and extent: but it is to a more important question that this comparison leads.

<sup>a</sup> Stowe's Survey (Billingsgate Ward), p. 225.

<sup>b</sup> It appears, from the observations to which I have referred, that this part of Thames Street was filled with piling, “and especially at the gateway leading to Botolph Wharf, where the piles were placed as closely together as they could be driven, as well as for some distance on each side.” These are, perhaps, rather traces of the bridge (if it stood there) than of any older work.

With respect to the opinions commonly entertained of the age and origin of London,<sup>a</sup> it may still be said that from first to last the so-called British History lies at the bottom of them all, and has had its effect even upon the interpretation<sup>b</sup> of

<sup>a</sup> The eminently learned Bishop Stillingfleet says, "Upon the best enquiry I can make, I very much incline to believe it of a Roman foundation, and no older than the time of Claudius."—Orig. Brit. 1685, p. 43. Burton, also, referring to the time of Nero, says, "My intent is not to insist upon any antiquity much beyond this."—Commentary, p. 154. But these have not been fashionable doctrines.

<sup>b</sup> In illustration of this latter fact, I beg leave to refer to the Roman accounts of the revolt of the Iceni in the time of Nero. And first to a passage in Suetonius (Vit. Neron. c. 39): "Clades Britannica, quâ duo præcipua oppida, magnâ civium Romanorum sociorumque cæde, direpta sunt." There is another in Eutropius (lib. vii. c. 13): Nero—"Britanniam penè amisit; nam duo nobilissima oppida capta atque eversa sunt." Of the two towns thus particularly specified, is always assumed that London of course was one, if not the first in importance. Not to mention writers of less note, Mr. Horsley says (Brit. Rom. p. 16) "'Tis undoubtedly to these two places" (London and Verulam) "that Suetonius refers," &c. And further, "Tacitus tells us that seventy thousand were slain at London and Verulam."

Let us now refer to Tacitus. The account which this historian gives of the revolt and its consequences is simply this (Annal. lib. xiv. c. 32). He first relates all that happened at Camulodunum—"Quâ clade," &c. Then, the abandonment of Londinium. Then he says "eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit:" and in the next sentence concludes the narrative in these words: "Ad septuaginta millia civium et sociorum, ITS QUÆ MEMORAVI LOCIS, cecidisse constitit." From the words "quæ memoravi" (omitted in Mr. Horsley's citation, p. 16) it surely appears that the statement comprehends all the three places of which the author had been speaking in succession, and in relation to the same train of events. Camulodunum—the Colony of Veterans—was the first scene of the revolt; and it is impossible that the destruction of this city, with that of the ninth legion, should have been left out of the computation of loss altogether sustained.

But Tacitus will further help us, in regard to the *two towns* intended by the other historians. In the Life of Agricola (cap. v.) he thus sums up the disasters of the time: "Trucidati VETERANI, incensæ COLONIÆ, intercepti exercitus." By the first clause he points distinctly at Camulodunum; Londinium is excluded from the second by his own assertion that it was not a colony, "cognomento coloniæ NON INSIGNE." Camulodunum being one of the two cities, we shall next find that Verulamium is the other. In the words "CIVIUM et sociorum," and in those used by Suetonius, "CIVIUM ROMANORUM sociorumque," we recognize the people of a *municipium*, to whom this title would exclusively belong: for so Pitiscus, "in legionibus ut CIVES, non in auxiliis ut SOCI, ascribebantur." In the one case Camulodunum is indicated by the *veterani*, in the other, Verulamium by the *cives*; both are *coloniæ*: these, then, are the "NOBILISSIMA OPPIDA," the towns of dignity and privilege, to which the historians refer.

Whatever share London may have had in the general calamity, it was not as one of "two principal towns:" and yet, by "disordered shufflings of the text," are these passages of history made to bear out preposterous notions of the extent of its population, and its relative importance. It has been said of London, and of this period (Rickman, in Archæol. vol. XXVIII.) that "the great number of inhabitants and others at that time slaughtered there by the insurgent Britons confirms its *early pretensions* as the *then* capital city of Britain." This "great number," as we learn from Tacitus, were the "SI QUOS" who were left behind, when all the rest had gone with the army of Paullinus! For any part of the statement it would be vain to look in the works of the Roman writers: the "early pretensions" will be met with in Geoffrey of Monmouth.



the Roman accounts. The earnest disavowal of this monstrous fiction is generally compensated in the admission of leading facts. It has not been perceived that the local traditions adopted in the story, and not the story itself, supply us with matter for history; nor has it been felt that such a narrative loses its charm when it loses the form of romance. Without the dramatic personation which connects it with the fall of Troy, a *British* London is a dull absurdity; and apart from this we have no intelligible views of the foundation of the city, of its original site, or of the character under which its first beginning ought to be considered. The space which history leaves a blank has been sometimes filled by reports of an imaginary commerce; and at others, the "dulcedo loci" has been thought sufficiently to account for the planting of London. To commerce, and to the convenience of habitation, may doubtless be ascribed its rapid growth and early prosperity; but the first requisite is a protecting power, and, in tracing it back to an establishment for military purposes, connected with a general design of internal communication, I think we have followed the course and progress of events most in accordance with the history of all those settlements which were at once the means and the result of conquest.

I have the honour to remain, dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

ARTHUR TAYLOR.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. &c.  
Sec. S.A.

P.S.—The annexed Plan (Plate IV.) has unavoidably a character of more precision than is either professed or warranted by the inquiry it is intended to illustrate; and, being founded on a survey which is probably far from correct, will in that respect be received with all necessary allowance.







VII.—*On the Designation of "Cold Harbour."* By Capt. W. H. SMYTH, R.N.,  
F.R.S., Director. In a Letter to SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., Secretary.

Read 11th January, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

3, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, 11th January, 1849.

FROM a conversation which I had yesterday with a worthy Fellow of our Society, it seems that the very few words which I dropped at the last Meeting respecting Coal Harbour being confounded with the singular term Cold Harbour were misunderstood, and, as a positive engagement will preclude my being at the apartments this evening, I forward you a note on the subject.

My object in speaking was not at all to comment upon Mr. Arthur Taylor's dissertation on Ancient London, or to dispute that the particular place which he mentions was so called from its destination, in days of yore, to the landing and wharfage of coals. I merely dissented from the opinion so strongly expressed in the meeting, as to *all* the sites thus designated having been coal deposits, and also from the assertion that *cold* was a colloquial corruption of *coal*, as well as that which declared *harbour* to be in allusion to a *port* in the early ages of London. The first of these terms cannot be drawn from *kohle*, *carbo*, it perpetually occurring as a prefix to many localities close upon Roman roads without reference to fuel, as *cold-blow*, *cold-broche*, *cold-camp*, *cold-comfort*, *cold-end*, *cold-ford*, &c.: the second seems at first sight to be of Saxon derivation, from *hereberga*, a host-watch on a hill, *statio militaris*. From this, says Johnson, came our old word *harborough*, lodging; and from this usage of it, which obtained among the Germans also, the sense of it as an inn was adopted into several languages, as *auberge* by the French, *albergo* by the Italians, and *herberg* by the Dutch. Hence *cold harbour* has been thought to mean any dwelling in an exposed situation; but, from the great variety of sites on which these names are found, I cannot think that bleakness of situation is the whole cause of the designation.



The curious epithet in question is of a far wider application than is usually imagined, for the known and recorded instances in England amount to several hundreds; many of these are in valleys, and of ready access on the banks of rivers, though there are others close to bold escarpments on the summits of inland eminences. As specimens of the first class, those in the marshes near Kingston-upon-Hull, and in the valley of the Thames, may be instanced; while the sites at Wrotham, in Kent—Leith Hill, in Surrey—Trowbridge, in Wiltshire—and Marlow, in Buckinghamshire, illustrate the second. And thus near London we have a *Cold Harbour* on the high ground above New Cross, at Deptford, and a *Cold Blow* farm on the flats below it; and I think there are two or three others in that vicinity. A noted manor at Camberwell has been successively *Colde Herbergh*, *Cold Abbey*, and *Cold Harbour*; and there is another equally noted two miles north of Ware, in Hertfordshire. At Woolwich, a place by the Roman road is thus designated; and a well-known house on the north bank of the river, opposite to Erith, has immemorially borne the name of Cold Harbour. Sometimes the so-called spot is on the margin of the water, but even there it may only mark the *trajectus*, or ferry, as that on the turn of the great Ikenild Street, near *Venta Belgarum*, between Wherewell Woods and the Winchester Downs.

Now it is not a little remarkable that, though these places are found recurring along the line of the Chilterns, the Cotswolds, and other ridges, yet they predominate on or near the old Roman roads; sometimes where there is a rise in the ground, and often in the very angle where a turn in the direction becomes necessary, not only in the occasional and forced deviations from the main *viaria*, but also in those which were made for forming *diverticulæ*, or cross communications. May not these ascents and winding turns therefore have been named after the significant tortuosities of the *coluber*? To be sure the word *flexus* was used by the old geographers, and that in question is nearly confined to Great Britain; but it may strengthen so obvious a suggestion to mention that I well remember a trackway among the Gallura mountains, in Sardinia, having been called *Colivri*. And our own Calleva, the capital of the Atrebates, by the allowable inversion of *b* and *v* almost *coluber*, marks a *diverticulum* where no fewer than four Roman roads form a junction. But in throwing out this notion, or rather reviving it, for I have somewhere met the idea before, I am aware of the perils and delusions of etymology, and that a mere literal or phonetic resemblance in words is no real evidence of similarity of origin; nor can any derivation be safely treated unless it can be at least probably traced to its source. The shade of probability is in favour of the conjecture; but it certainly is against it, though not conclusively so, that the expression is not met with in the

Peutinger Map, or in the Itinerary of Antoninus, nor does Domesday Book approach it nearer than Colebei, Collebere, Colebi, and Collabera.

Having been lately on a visit at Bury Hill, near Dorking, my friend Mr. Barclay described an adjacent spot where many Roman and other relics had been found: and it presents to the eye a well-defined camp. The site of this station is near a *Cold Harbour* on the opposite eminence of Leith Hill, at a decided *diverticulum* of the old military causeway called Stane Street, which is traceable through the country at a much lower level. So also on the Ermine Street, a little to the east of Grantham, in Lincolnshire, where it is crossed by a road made on an ancient track-way, there is a *Cold Harbour* at the very point of intersection; and another in Somersetshire, between Hindon and Fonthill, is pronounced by Sir R. C. Hoare to be "indicatory either of British or Roman antiquity in its vicinity." These are in locations sufficiently bleak to warrant the derogatory application of the name. The term *bury* or *berry* is also exceedingly prevalent, there being three principal ones in Surrey, besides many others, of which one may be cited near Andover, one close to Mansfield, and that at Bicester. Now *herberga* was a hill-watch, whence *berga*, *burgh*, *bury*, may have been metaphorically used for watch-towers and stations on hills, natural or artificial; as with Burgh Castle, on the brow of an elevated plateau in Suffolk, which may be cited as one of the finest relics of Roman fortification in the kingdom. The terms before us are sometimes juxta-posed: thus there is a place called *Cold Harbour* four miles below Swindon, near the turn which leads to the village of Broad Blunsdon, in the immediate vicinity of which is an ancient camp called "Bury" Blunsdon. But there is no end of both designations, and they seem to admit of very semblable interpretation; yet, even if we allow of culling cold from *kalda*, harbour from *hepeburga*, and bury from *burg*, there is still a plausible claim for the colubrine derivative on the ground of priority. At all events, it is palpably manifest that the *coal* paradox is utterly inadmissible.<sup>a</sup>

But, having once stepped over the hot ashes of conjecture, a wide field is presented to the imagination. Although the Romans and Anglo-Romans may possibly have

<sup>a</sup> Nearly sixty years ago, one "Nugaculus" asked, in the Gentleman's Magazine, the meaning of the term Cold Harbour. Some time afterwards, July 4th, 1793, he was answered by "Viator A." who informed him of a small post-town in Suabia called *Kalte Herberge*, the literal translation of which being Cold Inn, he considered that the inference was evident.

Since this letter was read, Mr. Crossley has suggested that the name may have been derived from the Latin *Caula arva* (British *Cobail-arbar*), meaning enclosed or cleared spaces for cultivation, among the woods and forests which formerly covered England.



used the term *coluber*, as we now apply the word serpentine, to designate a peculiar deviation, I am inclined, for more reasons than I need now state, to think that a popular prevalence of the name, even then, would be only a mere vestige of the once almost universal Ophite worship, the accurate history of which still continues to be a desideratum in archæology. The theory may be vague and disputable; but that this idolatry is of the highest antiquity, is proved by its being alluded to in the earlier Holy Scriptures; and it is known to have prevailed among the Chaldees, the Persians, and the Egyptians, as emblematic of the Sun, and Time, and Eternity. From the Orientals it descended to the Greeks, and from them to the Romans, among whom it became a type of victory, prosperity, and health; and the Latin damsel who offered food to the sacred reptile, which he declined partaking of, was branded as unchaste, and underwent the ban of society. Time, however, wrought changes, and the serpent lost its divinity; but, though the actual system of worship fell off, the type and *prestige* remained, insomuch that the emblem appears constantly both in arts and letters. Thus Tristan, the amiable Sieur de St. Amand, indignant on finding the creature figured so frequently on the reverses of imperial coins and medals, sagely imputes the practice to the time when the devil had established his empire over men's minds, and artfully biassed them in a blind adoration of the demoniac serpent—"Et persuada aux Gentils qu'il estoit le Génie de Félicité, de Santé, et de Victoire, qui appellèrent en suite ces démons detestables."

Under such views, I cannot but think that the term "Cold Harbour," and the prevalence of its English application, merit a fuller consideration than they have yet received.

Believe me, dear Sir Henry,

Yours faithfully,

W. H. SMYTH.

To Sir Henry Ellis, K.H.

&c. &c. &c.

VIII.—*Satirical Rhymes on the defeat of the Flemings before Calais in 1436 ; from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. Communicated in a Letter from BENJAMIN WILLIAMS, Esq., to Capt. W. H. SMYTH, R.N., Director.*

Read January 13th, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR,

Cowley Grove, January 13th, 1848.

THE following satirical Rhymes on the defeat of the Flemings, and their raising the siege of Calais, in 1436, are inserted in a very fine copy of the Brute, or English Chronicle, ending that year, in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, No. 6. If you think them worth the attention of the Society of Antiquaries, I shall be obliged by your presenting them.

In order to explain the point of the verses, I would remark that Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, who for twenty years had been the ally of the English, and whose sister was married to the Duke of Bedford, had, shortly after that duke's decease in 1435, concluded a treaty of peace with Charles the Seventh of France, at Arras; thereby terminating the unhappy dissensions of that kingdom. An alienation between the English and the Duke of Burgundy was the natural consequence, and, in 1436, the duke proposed to besiege Calais; which, as he affirmed belonged to his county of Artoys. Some of his council, thinking it to be a strange and arduous undertaking, told him he had better desist from it, "sachant bien qu'on ne prend pas tel chat sans moufle." (Paradin, Annales de Bourgogne. Lyon. 1566.) But he was urged on by others less experienced. He accordingly assembled a considerable force of the men of Ghent, and Bruges, and other places, who made such a fine appearance when mustered that he was anxious to show his force to his brother-in-law the count of Richemont. They brought with them cannons, coleurines,<sup>a</sup> and cross-bows. The duke commenced operations by erecting a lofty wooden bastille or tower to command the gate of the city, as he had done before in 1411. (MS. Cott. Galba E. vii.) This was, however, quickly taken "before the beard" of the duke by the people of Calais, who put the garrison, consisting of 800

<sup>a</sup> From *colubrina*; see Archæol. XXII. p. 61.



Flemings, to the sword (in revenge for the murder of some English prisoners), and took a great many of the rest prisoners. At length, on the 25th of June, the succours that the duke had been expecting by sea arrived, and he immediately caused several of the largest vessels, which had been filled with masonry and iron anchors, to be sunk in the port, in order to prevent the approach of the expected fleet from England; but when the tide receded they were left on the beach, and the people of Calais, as well men as women, issuing out of the city, demolished them, in spite of a continued fire from the Flemish camp, of which they made no account, carrying the wood into the town, and burning the hulls.

The duke, thereupon, fearing the arrival of the Duke of Gloucester, suddenly took his departure, leaving behind him an immense quantity of goods, both of merchandise and engines of war, and, says the Burgundian Chronicler, “fut ce fortune le plus sinistre que la Duc de Bourgongne eut oncques.” (Paradin, pp. 770—776.)

I beg to remain, my dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

B. WILLIAMS.

To Capt. W. H. Smyth, R. N.

&c. &c. &c.

“And on this wise Phelip Duc de Burgoyne and the Flemmyng deputed from Caleis, and þe Picardes from þe Castel of Guynes w<sup>t</sup> gret sheme, and gret discourshipp, and w<sup>t</sup> gret losse. Wherefore amonges Englisshmen were made many Rymes of þe Flemmynges, among the which one is here sette for a remembraunce, that saith on this wise:—

*When ye Flemyng wer fressh flourished in your flouris,  
And had withal your will, ye wolde be conquerouris  
Of Caleis, þat littel toun, al it come in youre mynde,  
But ye to conquere Caleis, it cometh you not of kynde.  
Remembres on þat wurship, ye wan the first day,  
When the erle of Mortain came passig with his pray  
Before youre toun of Gravenyng, wher ye as men bold  
Com rennyng on him fersly as lyons of Cotteswold,  
With habirgeons and hounscale, and rusti kettill hattes,<sup>a</sup>  
With long pikes, goden daghes,<sup>b</sup> for to strikke the rattes,*

<sup>a</sup> Amongst the list of arms and artillery furnished to the ship “Christopher,” temp. Edw. III. were “ten kettill hattes.” (Record Office, Carlton Ride, E. 13, 380.) They were probably open salades with brims.

<sup>b</sup> This must not be confounded with the dag or pistol of later date. The weapons allowed by the constable and marshal in a duel, were the lance, long and short sword, and “daghe.” (Gruythuse MS. written prior to the close of the fourteenth century, being the Latin MS. 6049, Bibl. du Roi, Paris.)



With messis and meskins and eke w<sup>t</sup> side jakes  
 Doun unto mydde þe leg, of kanvas lyke to sakes,  
 Stoppyd al w<sup>t</sup> hempen tawe and þat in straunge wise,  
 Sticked like a matrace, al of þe newe gyse.  
 Ye laid upon þe Englisshmen so mightily w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>r</sup> hands  
 Til of you iij hundred lay streched on the sandes.  
 Ye fled þen into Grauenyng,<sup>a</sup> and wold no longer bide,  
 And gaue þe erle leve to pass over that same tyde  
 In saefte with his pisoners<sup>b</sup> and lost never a man.  
 This was þe first wurship of Caleys than ye wan.<sup>c</sup>  
*Remembres* how ye laide seege with gret pryde and bost  
 To Caleis, þat littel toun; the noumbre of youre host  
 Was a hundrid thousand and fifty to reckon by þe pollis,  
 As it was þat same tyme founden by youre rollis,  
 And yette for al youre gret host, erly nothir late,  
 Caleis was so ferd of you, they shitte never a gate.  
*Remembres* how ye drowned att full see for þe nones  
 With shippes Caleis haven, massoned w<sup>t</sup> stones,  
 And how that þe Calisers hem brake the next day  
 When it was lowe watir, and bare hem clene away;  
 Every stikke and stone, and lafte not ther one log.  
 Remembers eke on Goby, the watir-bailiffe's dog,  
 How he scarmysshed w<sup>t</sup> you twyes upon the say,  
 And among you on þe sandes made many a fray.  
*Remembres*, ye of Brugg, how ye first wan your shon;  
 How ye com forth to scarmysh upon an aftirnon,  
 With pavysses and crossebowes on saint Peter's playn,  
 And how sone the Calisers made you to turn again,  
 And overthrew you sodeynly or ever that ye wist,  
 And brought you into Caleis, tyed fast by the fist.  
*Remembres*, ye of Gaunt, eke, for al youre pride and bost,  
 Wonnen was your bulwerk, beside your gret host,  
 And slayn all that was therin; and ye that same night  
 Fled ouer Grauenyng water, but go that go might;  
 And youre lorde w<sup>t</sup> you for dred and for fere  
 Of the duk of Gloucester, and yette was he not ther,  
 Wel was hym might go before with pison & w<sup>t</sup> paunce,<sup>d</sup>  
 And left behind you for hast all your ordinaunce.

<sup>a</sup> Gravening Water, the boundary of the English territory.

<sup>b</sup> See note <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> The forces of the Earl of Mortayne, Captain of Calais, had defeated 1500 Burgundians, led by Messire Jean de Croi, Bailiff of Haynault. Monstrelet places their loss in killed at from five to six hundred.

<sup>d</sup> *Pison* or *pysane* is a contraction for *pavoisine*, a small shield. *Paunce* is a military garment, or hauberk, worn over the chest (Germ. *panzer*). The paunce is enumerated amongst the armour taken at Holy Island in 1437. (Meyrick's *Antient Armour*, ii. 127.)



*Defeat of the Flemings, A. D. 1436.*

*Remembres*,<sup>a</sup> ye Picardes, at seege eke as ye lay  
 Of Guynes, that strong castel, how ye fled away  
 For ryngyng of the larum bell, shamefulle in a morowe,  
 As few(?) as þe Flemyng w<sup>t</sup> hertes full of sorowe.  
 Ye lost ther your ordynaunce of gunnes that was cheff  
 To you & to all Pycardis shame and gret repress.  
*Remembres* now ye Flemyng, upon your own shame,  
 When ye laide seege to Caleis ye wer right full to blame.  
 For more of reputacion ben Englisshmen þen ye,  
 And comen of more gentill bloode, of olde antiquite.  
 For Flemyng com of flemed<sup>b</sup> men, ye shall well understand,  
 For flamed men & banished men enhabit first youre land.  
*Thus* prove I þat Flemyng is but a flemed man.  
 And Flaunders of Flemyng the name first began.  
 And þefore ye flemyngs, þat Flemyng ben named,  
 To compare w<sup>t</sup> Englisshmen, ye aught to be ashamed.  
 Ye be nothing elles worth but g<sup>e</sup>l wordes to camp.  
 Sette ye still and bith in pees ; God gyve you quader <sup>c</sup> cramp.

“Such and many other rymes were made among Englisshmen after the Flemynges were thus shamefully fled, from Caleis, & þe Picardes from Guynes fledd & gone þeire way for drede & fere of þe comyng of þe duyk of Gloucestre, which by þat time was redy at London w<sup>t</sup> his power and armee to þe rescows of Caleis, and to shippe at Sandwich, where as lay redy in þe haven iii<sup>c</sup> sayles to abyde his comyng.”

<sup>a</sup> This form is very ancient, for example :—

“Lordyngs that here likes to dwell,  
 Leves ȝowr speche, and heres this spell.”

(MS. Cott. Galba, E. ix. 22 b.)

<sup>b</sup> Fleman, *fugitivus*. (Coles's Eng. Lat. Dict. 1707.)

<sup>c</sup> Probably a corruption of cuartern or quartern, Ang. Sax. *prison*. (Layamon. II. 386.)

IX.—*On Gnostic Gems.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A. In a Letter to  
JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., Treasurer.

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Read, 16th November, 1848.

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MY DEAR SIR,

Lewisham, May 18, 1848.

I BEG to submit to the Society of Antiquaries some impressions and drawings of Gnostic Gems, chiefly bearing the usual figures and characters, on the former of which I venture to make a few observations. I think we shall not err much in assigning the origin of these amulets to Alexandria, in Egypt, the hot-bed of Gnostic superstition, and the birth-place of more than two of the leaders of this abominable sect. As far as we can judge from the style of their workmanship and the form of the characters, the greater part belong to a period later than the days of the Antonines.

What renders these objects the more interesting is, the great probability that they furnished to the Gentile defamers of the early Christians the grounds of much scandal and invective. It is well known that the idea, that the God of the Jews was worshipped under the figure of an ass, prevailed so universally among the Romans, that Pompey, when at Jerusalem, made strict search in the temple for such an idol. This belief, coupled with the appearance of the long-eared figure so often occurring on these amulets, must have tended greatly to extend the popular rumour against the Christians. The figure in question, in all probability, was originally that of the Anubis of the Romano-Egyptian Pantheon, a conjecture which will be admitted on a comparison of the impression No. VI. with the drawing. On the first, Anubis



appears with his characteristic attributes; on the other, is a figure evidently suggested by the Pagan divinity. One side of the stone bears the word LABAOΘ (Sabaoth) in rudely-formed Greek characters: the other, which is without device, has the name MIXAHAI. The words *Michael* and *Sabaoth* consort well with each other: the one being the usual epithet of the Almighty as God of battles, while to the angel Michael was assigned the marshalling of the Angelic hosts. The execution of the figure is of the most barbarous description, but it is curious as shewing that the Pagans had in such representations of the Gnostic sect apparent grounds for their absurd scandals, the monstrous impieties of these worse than heathens being imputed to those who worshipped the true God in secret, whose orisons, addressed to an invisible divinity, perplexed the worshippers of idols as much as the service of the Jews had perplexed them in former ages. This is shewn by Tertullian, (Apologet. c. xvi.) and the same author states, that the vulgar in his days still believed that the Christians worshipped an ass. At the very time that he penned his famous apology, a picture, representing a figure with cloven feet and the head of an ass, holding a book intended for the Bible, was exhibited by a popular gladiator to the people, with the inscription "*This is the god of the Christians, of the race of an ass!*" I need not remark that this fighter with beasts had good reason to hate the Christians vehemently, since they studiously avoided the heathen spectacles, as shewn by the same authority (See Tertullian, De Spectaculis, *passim*); nor will it be necessary to follow the indignant upholder of the true faith in his refutation of this monstrous calumny, my object being solely to shew that, while the foul orgies of the Gnostics were imputed to the early Christians, the slander was probably fed by the innumerable gems and talismans of the former, on which were engraved the brute figures of the demons they worshipped, but especially by those bearing the long-eared figure, as on the amulet represented in the drawing.<sup>a</sup>

It seems extremely probable that the adoption and consequent frequent occurrence of Anubis on this class of engraved stones may be explained by the passage in Tertullian (Ad Nationes, lib. ii. c. 8) in which he shews that the worship of this divinity, who, it should be remembered, is not mentioned by Herodotus, originated in the Egyptian deification of the patriarch Joseph.

There is abundant reason for supposing that these talismans were in great repute and much valued in the middle ages. Mr. Wright's paper in Vol. XXX. (page 438) of the *Archæologia* is curious, as shewing in what estimation antique engraved gems were held by Christians as late as, if not much posterior to, the thirteenth century, while the example of a Gnostic gem, set as a ring, and found some years

<sup>a</sup> The original, in *pietra dura*, is in the possession of George Richard Corner, Esq., F.S.A.

since on the finger of the skeleton of an ecclesiastic in the cathedral of Chichester, affords undeniable evidence that these relics were cherished in the middle ages even by those whose express duty it was to reprove and check such gross superstition.

I am, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

J. Y. AKERMAN.

To John Payne Collier, Esq., Treasurer S.A.  
&c. &c. &c.



X.—*Remarks to assist in ascertaining the Dates of Buildings.* By JOHN ADEY REPTON, Esq., F.S.A. In a Letter to SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., Secretary.

Read, 25th January, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR,

Springfield, near Chelmsford, January 5, 1849.

It is thirty seven years since I had the honour of communicating a paper to the Society of Antiquaries, containing "Some Remarks to assist in ascertaining the Dates of Buildings;" a subject at that time of little interest to the generality of members, though one which always appeared to me of importance. The great change which has taken place of late years in the feeling of the public on all subjects of ecclesiastical architecture, leading, as I trust it will, to a more correct taste in buildings hereafter dedicated to the service of God, will, I hope, plead my excuse for again laying before the Society some observations which at the time they were made might boast some little portion of originality, but which is now no longer the case.

I have honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN ADEY REPTON.

To Sir Henry Ellis, K. H.

&c. &c. &c.

It is a common error with those who have not entered into the subject of the architecture of this country to pronounce the dates of buildings from the form of the arches only; but a minute attention to the ornaments and details of buildings will enable us to perceive how little reliance can be placed on this commonly received standard.

It is generally supposed that all round-headed arches (whether elliptical or semi-circular) were erected during the time of the Saxons or Normans (*i. e.* from before the Conquest to about the reign of King Stephen). It is also generally supposed

that on the first appearance of pointed arches they were of a very sharp pitch, and that by degrees they became more and more flat. These may be considered as general observations, and in many cases are true; but it remains to show this is not always to be depended upon.

The semicircular (as well as the elliptical) arch commonly prevailed to the reign of Henry II. and is less frequent from that period to Henry III., when it appears to have ceased entirely; but it does not follow that all semi-circular arches are to be attributed to those dates, for a few may occasionally be found as late as the fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the sixteenth century; as at the west end of Gloucester Cathedral there is a door with a semi-circular arch, but, from the style of the arch-moulding and the round capitals, it does not appear to be older than the time of Henry III. The same may be said of the windows in St. Nicholas Church, near the Cathedral. And there is a semi-circular window at West Acre, in Norfolk, which from its tracery and the hood-moulding appears to be of the time of Edward II. or III. At a later period (about the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century) in a doorway at Withyham Church, Sussex, and a window in Knapton Church, Norfolk. The rich Gothic screen in the south transept of Norwich Cathedral, of the sixteenth century, built within the Norman arch, can never be taken for Norman architecture.

It is generally supposed that the next form is that of the pointed arches of a high pitch, considerably sharper than the equilateral triangle, these being considered as early specimens of Gothic arches introduced about the middle of the twelfth century; but these sharp-pointed arches may be found so late as the time of Henry VII. as in Bell Harry's steeple at Canterbury, the porch at Northleech Church, Gloucestershire, and the tracery in the windows of the west front of Peterborough Cathedral, &c.

The next form of arches (the proportion of which is much admired) is that of an equilateral triangle, and is generally reckoned about the date of Edward III. and that arches, it is supposed, became flatter and flatter afterwards, *i. e.* the two centres were brought nearer to each other, being within the aperture of the arch; but arches more or less than the equilateral triangle may be found as early as the years 1150 and 1200, and so late as the year 1500, of which examples are not uncommon.

The flat arches, chiefly struck from two centres beneath the spring of the arch, may be found as early as the reign of Henry III. (if not earlier) as in St. Mary Overy's, Southwark. The same may be found from 1270 to 1350, as in Norwich Cathedral, &c. and as late as the end of the fifteenth century, as at Magdalen College,



Oxford, &c. but these were not often used, except at the back of doors and dark passages, and especially in castles, or under bridges, where they are little seen.

The next specimens are those struck from four centres, and are commonly asserted to be of the dates from Henry IV. to the seventeenth century, but they may be found at an earlier period, as in the Nine Altars at Durham, temp. Henry III. and in the great window of Trinity Chapel at Ely, of the date of Edward II. or III.

Since the form of the arch alone is not an adequate standard to ascertain its date, we must have recourse to other auxiliaries, which may be considered rather as the embellishments of edifices than as forming any part of their strength or construction. To elucidate this subject, I have collected several specimens of arch-mouldings, with several capitals of columns, and have arranged them according to their respective dates, and also have given specimens of hood-mouldings, string-courses, and the *upper* mouldings of the capitals.

No. 1. (See Plate V.)—Contains specimens of arch-mouldings, &c. arranged nearly in chronological series from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, and divided into four different periods.

The first contains specimens of Saxon or early Norman arch-mouldings, which are strongly marked by their massiveness and squareness of outline, the beed and hollow clumsy, and but faintly marked.

The second specimens shew the next progressive state of the arch-mouldings, the hollows being bolder and deeper, and the beed more elegant and detached, and some of the beeds by degrees became either pointed, or very slightly marked by a fillet. The abacus (or upper-moulding) of the columns, which is described by a single line to shew its contour round each moulding, began gradually to lose its square form, and to follow the octagon or round outline; while the mouldings of the arch appear to sweep with the shape of the abacus.

The third series contains the next improvement of the mouldings, when the pointed beeds were changed by degrees to double ogees, with fillets added at the sides. From that time to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is not easy to trace any peculiar character in the arch-mouldings, except perhaps that after the time of Henry IV. some marked outline may be observed, as represented in the fourth series, when the mouldings are often found in a straight line, and when the hollows are represented long and narrow, as at *a*, while the cavettos, *b* and *c*, became a conspicuous feature in arches, and are often long and flat. The ornaments of Norman architecture are too well known to require any explanation; but it may not be amiss to mention that the favourite zig-zag and the billet moulding were continued to

a late period, and about the time of Richard I. and John, the zig-zag is often extremely elegant, and is sometimes placed in an angular position, as in Glastonbury Abbey, the north porch of the nave of Wells Cathedral, &c.

Long before the zig-zag ceased, a favourite ornament began to prevail about the reigns of Stephen and Henry II., and continued throughout a great part of the reign of Henry III. which is the quatrefoil, of which beautiful specimens may be seen in the cathedrals of Durham and Ely, Elstow Monastery, &c., not only in arch-mouldings, but also on the hollows between each Purbeck shaft of columns, until about the time of Edward I., when they ceased to be used.

Fig. 1 to fig. 32, are sections of the upper mouldings of capitals, the hood-mouldings, and also the string-courses. Although they may not fall precisely in chronological order, yet they may give some general idea of the forms of mouldings.

No. II. (Plate VI.)—Specimens of capitals of columns arranged chronologically, from the Conquest to the reign of Henry VIII., shewing the different forms at different periods.<sup>a</sup>

The earliest specimens of capitals are heavy and massive in the general forms; but about the time of Stephen they became lighter, and towards the end of Henry II. or Richard I. they improved in elegance, but still preserving the square abacus; yet less frequent in the time of King John; but before the reign of Henry II. the abacus of many of the capitals, from its too great projection, began either to be rounded off, or taken off straight, which afterwards gave place to correct circular or octagon capitals.<sup>b</sup>

In St. Mary Overy's, Southwark, are still to be seen the mixture of the square and round capitals of the date of King John or Henry III. On the same principle,

<sup>a</sup> By a minute attention to the form of capitals, &c. when examining different buildings, it will clearly be perceived which parts were first executed. In observing St. Cross, near Winchester, St. Mary Overy's, Westminster Abbey, the Temple Church, &c. it will be evident that the external walls were erected before the pillars in the middle of the buildings which support the roof. Another circumstance should be attended to in examining different buildings, viz. to make allowance for the difference between a cathedral and an inferior building. In the former, better workmen were most probably employed than in smaller churches; and the changes of the style of architecture may be observed to have occurred a few years sooner. Thus we may compare the superior elegance of the choir of Canterbury Cathedral with the old part of the Temple Church, both erected about the end of Henry II.; and compare the Galilee at Ely with the Church of St. Mary Overy's, Southwark, both about the time of John.

<sup>b</sup> Many specimens of elegant square capitals (and a few with the corners taken off), may be found in the works of Bishop Seffrid II. in Chichester Cathedral, of the date of Henry II. or Richard I. and may easily be compared with the old Norman works of Bishop Ralph. But the capitals of the columns, executed in the reigns of John and Henry III. are somewhat different from those erected by Seffrid II.



in the time of King Stephen, we commonly find the semicircular mixed with the various forms of pointed arches, shewing that the old forms were not entirely abolished, while new ones were just beginning to be introduced.<sup>a</sup>

Among the various specimens of capitals, in those from Canterbury Cathedral it is easy to distinguish the old works of Archbishop Lanfranc and Anselm from those executed in the reign of Henry II. by William de Senne, where the forms of the Corinthian capitals, and even the leaves, are in some degree imitated from those in Italy, and would certainly lead us to suppose them to be copied from foreign countries.<sup>b</sup>

Many capitals which are seen in different buildings I cannot but consider as old ones *re-carved*, to make them correspond in some degree with new parts or additions of later date. For instance, in Binham Priory, Norfolk, erected in the reign of Henry I. was added at the west end a building in the time of John or Henry III., which is of course of a very different style of architecture, and with round capitals, but, to blend the old massive part of the priory with the new building, some of the old square capitals were re-carved, with the abacus rounded off (see No. II. fig. 6).

The same observation may be made respecting many of the capitals within the choir of Canterbury Cathedral, where the old have been made in some degree to harmonize with the new work (see No. II. fig. 7): the dotted lines show the supposed original form.

The principal features of the capitals which prevailed from Henry II. to Henry III. are the bold projections and elegant forms, consisting chiefly of volutes and leaves collected in bunches, being carried up perpendicularly and folding over very gracefully, forming so many knobs, which towards the middle of the reign of Henry

<sup>a</sup> Mr. King, in his *Observations on Castles* (vol. iv. p. 137), speaking of the tower of Winborn Minster, says, that "the middle arches of the lower row seem to have been somewhat altered in later days into pointed, as we have found was the case at Pershore;" but upon examination of the tower itself, I find that the middle aperture is narrower than the two external ones, which accounts for the arch being pointed, in order to range with the two external arches, which are semicircular; and upon examining the mouldings of these arches, and the lightness of the capitals, the tower, instead of being Saxon, as supposed, will prove not to be older than the time of Stephen or Henry II.

<sup>b</sup> The square capitals prevailed throughout the whole choir of Canterbury Cathedral (and even in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity and Becket's Crown), to as late as the year 1189, when it was completed, except a very few round capitals, which may be found in the eastern cross-aisles, of which a specimen is given in No. II. fig. 10.

A door in Witham Church, Essex, has a pointed arch, with light zig-zags and other mouldings, of the date of Henry II. with the bases of the columns; but the original capitals have been taken out, and clumsy new ones inserted, about the time of Richard II. to correspond with the porch, which was added at that period.

III. became loaded to profusion, as in the east end of Ely Cathedral, and also in the cathedrals of Salisbury and Worcester, &c.

The next form of capitals began about the beginning of Edward I. when the light and elegant leaves being found liable to break off, they were changed to the broad square form, and carved close to the capitals, as being more secure from injury; and the leaves, instead of being carried upright, branched off either in a horizontal position, or towards an angle of 45 degrees.<sup>a</sup>

In reference to the specimens of plain capitals, I would observe that those erected in the early part of Henry III. are distinguished by the boldness and lightness of the mouldings from those executed between the years 1280 and 1350. (Compare Figs. 14 and 15 with 19 and 20.)

In the fourth series of capitals it is not easy to distinguish their character, or to explain their peculiar form, except that the ornaments of strawberry leaves and the battlements in miniature, and the contour of the abacus moulding, may be of sufficient importance to mark the different date of the end of the fourteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth.

It may be observed, that in the earliest buildings the capitals were much attended to, and appear as the most conspicuous ornament of architecture; but towards the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they were considered of less importance: the windows, the richness of tracery, &c. being more regarded: thus in our finest examples of architecture, as King's College Chapel, Henry the Seventh's Chapel, &c. the capitals of their columns are not to be compared with those of the thirteenth and the fourteenth century.

To conclude, those nice distinctions by which dates may be ascertained may also be extended to other details of buildings, particularly the forms of windows and their tracery, the shape of pinnacles, and even the pedestals of niches, beginning with the massive square pedestals of the thirteenth century, as at Wells and Salisbury Cathedrals, and proceeding by degrees to the light octagon pedestals of the sixteenth century.

With regard to the pinnacles, the earliest specimens seem to be those where the spires are plain, and only ornamented at the top by a bunch of leaves. The pinnacles about the time of Edward I. II. and III. were ornamented with crockets, but much crowded together, and the gables at the bottom of the spires much pointed

<sup>a</sup> This observation may be made respecting the capitals in Ely Cathedral; those in the Galilee, and the eastern part of the choir, are different from those in the lanthorn erected by Prior Cruden in the reign of Edward II., who built the Prior's Chapel. See vol. XIV., plates 26 and 27, of the *Archæologia*.



and overloaded ; but towards the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the crockets of the pinnacles became more detached, and the gables of the double ogee shape. The favourite pinnacles or turrets, which began to prevail in the reign of Henry VI. and continued to that of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, are those with domes, of which several fine specimens may be found in the kingdom, as in the choir of Winchester Cathedral, and more particularly in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Hampton Court, &c.; but these domes did not supersede the straight pinnacles, which continued to as late as Henry VIII.

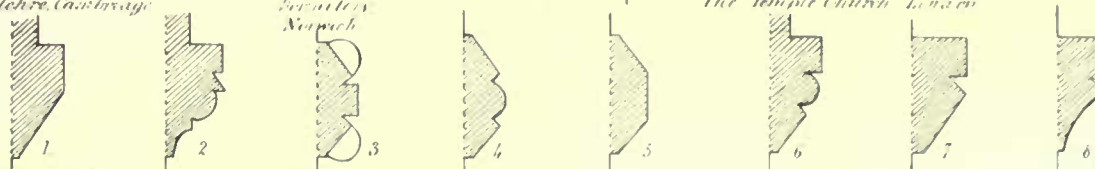
From J. Conquest to Henry II.



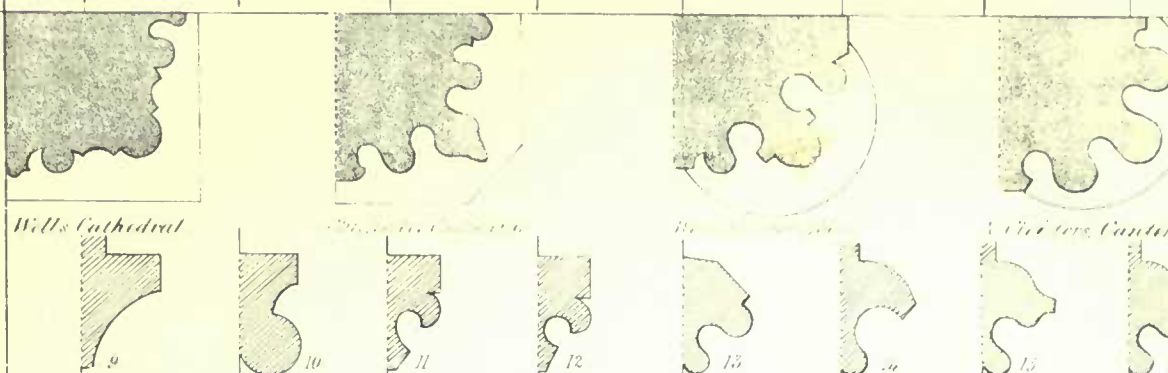
*St Sepulchre, Cambridge*

*Perimeter, Norwich*

*The Temple Church, London*



From Henry II to Edward I.



*Wells Cathedral*

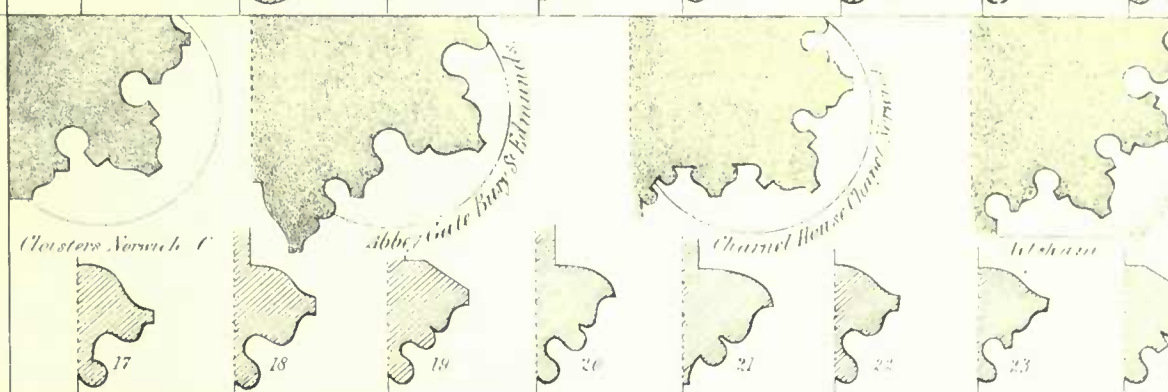
*St. Dunstons, London*

*St. Dunstons, London*

*St. Dunstons, London*



From Edward I to Henry IV.

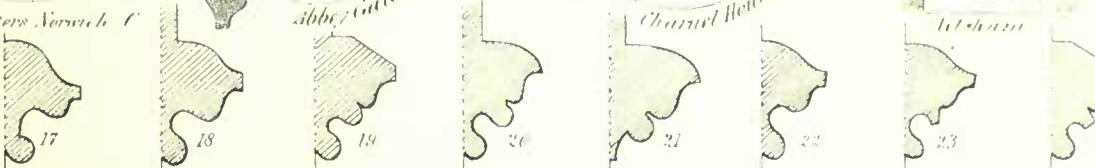


*Clousters, Norwich*

*Abbey Gate, Bay St. Edmund*

*Chapel House, Chapel St. Edmund*

*Walsham*



From Henry IV to Henry VII.



*St. Dunstons, London*

*St. Dunstons, London*

*St. Dunstons, London*

*St. Dunstons, London*



*Mouldings of Windows*



*From the Conquest to Henry III*

*From Henry III to Edward II*

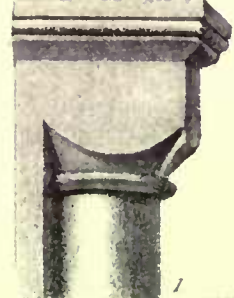
*From Edward II to Henry VII*





From the Conquest to the  
reign of Henry Stephen.

*St Edmunds Bury.*



*Norwich Cathedral*

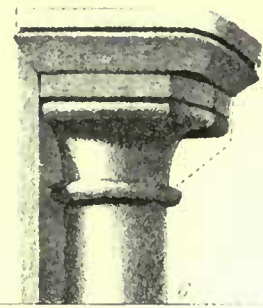


*Canterbury Cathedral*



From the Reign of Stephen  
to Richard I.

*Bingham Priory.*

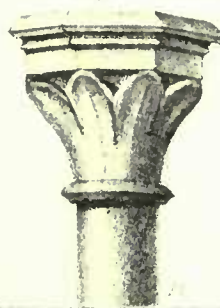
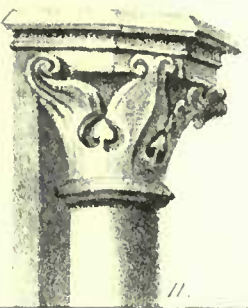


*Canterbury Cathedral*



From Richard I to Henry III.

*Leicester Cathedral*



*St Mary's*



*Worcester Cathedral*



From Henry III to Edward I.

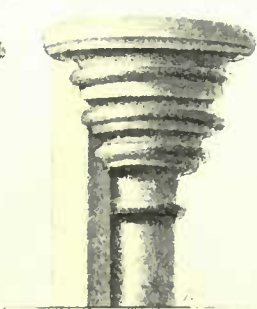
*Westminster Abbey.*



*St Augustine's Gate, Canterbury*



*Convent, Norwich Cathedral & St. Albans*



From Edward I to Henry VIII.

*Orion's Temple, Porch of Canterbury Gate.*



*St Austle, Cornwall*



*Convent, Christchurch*



*Windsor Castle, Windsor*







XI.—*Observations on the Trial and Death of William Earl of Gowrie, A.D. 1584, and on their Connection with the Gowrie Conspiracy, A.D. 1600. By JOHN BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A.*

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Read March 22nd, 29th, and April 19th, 1849.

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IN King James's singular narrative of the Gowrie Conspiracy, his majesty states, that Alexander Ruthven, younger brother of John Earl of Gowrie, having conducted him into a chamber of Gowrie House, which the king calls "a little studie," suddenly "locked too the studie doore behinde him," and at that instant, changing his countenance, put his hat on his head, and drew a dagger from the girdle of Andrew Henderson, a servant of the Ruthvens who had been previously stationed in the little study, clad in armour, to await his majesty's coming. His majesty goes on to relate, that young Ruthven held the point of Henderson's dagger to the king's breast, declaring that he "behoved to be in his will, and to be used as he list." The king adds, "that Ruthven swore many bloody oaths that if the king cried one word, or opened a window to look out, that dagger should presently go to his heart." He then adds, and it is the first word which seems to have been uttered in explanation of the cause of this singular outrage, that Alexander Ruthven affirmed "that he was sure that now the king's conscience was burthened for the murdering of his father." The king replied (according to his own account) with singular coolness and self-possession. He "began to dilate" (these are the words of his narrative) "how horrible a thing it was for his assailant to meddle with his majesty's innocent blood, assuring him it would not be left unrevenged, since God had given him children and good subjects, and if there [were] neither, God would raise up stocks and stones to punish so vile a deed." After this oration upon regicide, which, considering the character of the king, and the circumstances of tremendous personal peril in which he was suddenly placed, is not very likely to have been uttered exactly in the way stated, the king proceeded to notice the allusion which had been made by Alexander Ruthven to the death of his father, "protesting before God," his majesty says, "that he had no burthen on his conscience" on that account, "both in respect that, at the time of his father's execution, his majesty was but a minor of age, and guided at that time by a faction which over-



ruled both his majesty and the rest of the country; as also, that whatsoever was done to his father, it was done by the ordinary course of law and justice.”<sup>a</sup>

This is the king’s account. Mr. Tytler has stated the transaction in his *History of Scotland*, with far more dramatic effect, as follows:

“At last they,” that is, the king and Alexander Ruthven, “entered the small round room already mentioned” (that is, the turret-chamber which the king calls “a little study”). “On the wall hung a picture with a curtain before it; beside it stood a man in armour; and as the king started back in alarm, Ruthven locked the door, put on his hat, drew the dagger from the side of the armed man, and, tearing the curtain from the picture, showed the well-known features of the Earl of Gowrie his father. ‘Whose face is that?’ said he, advancing the dagger with one hand to the king’s breast, and pointing with the other to the picture. ‘Who murdered my father? Is not thy conscience burdened with his innocent blood? Thou art my prisoner, and must be content to follow our will, and to be used as we list. Seek not to escape; utter but a cry,’—James was now looking at the window and beginning to speak,—‘make but a motion to open the window, and this dagger is in thy heart.’ The king, although alarmed by this fierce address and the suddenness of the danger, did not lose his presence of mind; and, as Henderson was evidently no willing accomplice, he took courage to remonstrate with the Master (that is, with the Master of Ruthven, Master being the Scottish designation of an heir) reminded him of the dear friendship he had borne him, and ‘as for your father’s death,’ said he, ‘I had no hand in it; it was my Council’s doing; and should ye now take my life, what preferment will it bring you? Have I not both sons and daughters? You can never be king of Scotland; and I have many good subjects who will revenge my death.’”<sup>b</sup>

Mr. Tytler has not stated whence the distinguishing features of his narrative were derived; but I believe I shall not err in attributing them to an extract from Johnston’s *MS. History of Scotland*, printed by Mr. Pitcairn in his valuable collection of *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland*.<sup>c</sup> Johnston alone mentions the striking incident of the picture, and the several other circumstances in which Mr. Tytler’s narrative differs from that of the king. But it is evident that Johnston’s assertions are not to be literally depended upon. He strives ambitiously after effect; he occa-

<sup>a</sup> The Earle of Gowries conspiracie against the Kings Maiestie of Scotland. At Saint Johnstoun vpon Tuesday the fift of August, 1600. 4to. Lond. 1600. sig. B. 3.

<sup>b</sup> *Hist. Scotland*, ix. 352.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. ii. p. 293. Johnston’s *History* is preserved in the library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, and is referred to by Pitcairn in the following manner. “*Jac. V. 2. 2, fol. 633 b.*”

sionally puts very grandiloquent speeches into the mouths of his actors; and he could not have possessed any personal knowledge upon the subject. The king and Henderson were the only survivors of that terrible scene; and the statement of the latter, although contradictory to the king's account in many minute particulars, offers no support to the story of the picture, nor indeed to any of the other incidents in which Johnston differs from the king. For these reasons, with all respect for Mr. Tytler, I am inclined to reject the picture story altogether, and to accept the narrative of the king, with such qualifications as will occur to every one who considers that it was no doubt partly written for him; and that, so far as it was strictly his own, it was the after-account of a vain, talkative person, by no means distinguished for courage or truthfulness, who found himself suddenly placed, by a wonderful escape, in a position in which he could magnify the heroism of his own conduct, without fear of contradiction.

It will be observed that both these accounts, however they differ in other respects, are in one point perfectly agreed: both put forth Alexander Ruthven's desire to revenge the alleged murder of his father, as the cause assigned by himself for his atrocious attack upon the king. The same thing is stated by Henderson in his examination. He says, that Alexander Ruthven, "having the drawn whinger in his hand," addressed the king thus:—"Sir, ye must be my prisoner! Remember on my father's death."<sup>a</sup> And in the letters brought to light nine years after the explosion of the conspiracy the same object is several times distinctly alluded to. "The revenge of *that* cause" is mysteriously assigned in the first of those letters as the aim of the Earl of Gowrie and his friends. "Revenge for the Maschevalent [which is said to mean Machiavellian] massacring of our dearest friends," is more plainly put forth in another of them; and in a third it is distinctly stated, that "there is no one of a noble heart, or [who] carries a stomach worth a penny, but they would be glad to see a contented revenge of Grey Steel's death."<sup>b</sup> Grey Steel being a name of popular favour for William Earl of Gowrie, derived from the romance of that name, well known in the folk-lore of Scotland.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, ii. 178.

<sup>b</sup> These letters are printed in Pitcairn, ii. 282.

<sup>c</sup> Grey Steel is the beautiful romance which is referred to by Percy, and analysed by Ellis, under the title of Eger and Grime. The Grey Steel of the romance is a doughty and all but unconquerable knight. The romance is printed in Mr. David Laing's Early Metrical Tales, 8vo. 1826. In a note at p. xix. that gentleman states, that the letters from which I have quoted above "have all the appearance of being gross fabrications." No reason is given for this statement, nor can I conjecture any. It is certainly not the opinion of Mr. Pitcairn, who discovered the original letters in the general register office, in Edinburgh, and printed them with great care. I have reason, also, to know that it is not the opinion of other eminent Scottish antiquaries.



This, then, is the point to which I desire to direct the attention of the Society of Antiquaries. All the evidence concurs in assigning revenge for the death of William Earl of Gowrie as an object alleged by the conspirators. What was there in the circumstances of his death which kept alive for sixteen years a feeling of hatred and a desire of revenge? The point has been very insufficiently investigated by historical writers, and yet it is obvious that in one respect it is the very turning point of the Gowrie Conspiracy. The Earl was executed in 1584. He was tried before an ordinary tribunal, upon a charge of treason. He was found guilty by a jury of his peers, and was publicly executed in the accustomed way. In all this there was nothing to excite that intense feeling of inimitable revenge, that ferocious desire to wipe out blood with blood, which passes under the name of the deadly feud. The most celebrated instances of that description of private warfare will be found to have originated in a desire to retaliate injustice. It was not because an ancestor was put to death by the law that his descendants felt themselves either prompted by natural feeling, or urged by general opinion, to revenge his fate. Death by the law was too often but lightly regarded. It was because he was brought under the power of the law by some trick; because, under the forms of law, there lay concealed some fraud, or treachery, by means of which his death was brought about with all the external appearance of legality. Now, the inquiry is,—Was there anything of that kind in the instance of the death of the Earl of Gowrie? anything which could keep alive for sixteen years the bitter feeling of a deadly feud between his children and their sovereign? Some papers in the Cottonian Library give a full answer to these questions. They have been alluded to, and partly used, for the first and only time, by Mr. Tytler; but, to the best of my knowledge, they have never been published.\* I now beg to forward transcripts of them to the Society of Antiquaries, and shall add to the information they contain some particulars partly derived from unpublished diplomatic correspondence of the period. In order that these papers may be fully understood, it will be necessary for me to go at some length into an explanatory historical detail; but the narrative will be found to bear upon the conclusions at which we are to arrive, and, although long, will not, I hope, be altogether without interest.

The earliest incident which is mentioned in the life of William Master of Ruthven, afterwards fourth Lord Ruthven and first Earl of Gowrie, is a participation in

\* Since this was written I have found that No. 3 of the papers alluded to was printed in 1827, in vol. i. of the *Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club*, p. 89. As the impression of the Bannatyne publications is limited to the number of the club, and the paper in question is necessary for the proper understanding of my observations, I have not thought this previous private printing of a small impression a sufficient reason for its withdrawal.

the murder of David Rizio. His father, Patrick the third Lord Ruthven, it will be universally remembered, was the chief actor in that barbarous tragedy. Besides the political motives which influenced all the conspirators, the Ruthvens were drawn to take part in that celebrated murder by considerations of another kind. They were among Darnley's nearest connexions by affinity on his mother's side; Patrick Lord Ruthven having married first Janet, daughter of Archibald Earl of Angus, who was Darnley's grandfather. Lord Ruthven was therefore his uncle by marriage, and William the Master of Ruthven was his cousin. Lord Ruthven was the first person to whom Darnley applied to revenge him on the Italian interloper. He had suffered long from dangerous illness, he was in such a state of bodily weakness as to be unable, he says, to walk twice the length of his bed-room, but he gave a ready ear to the complaints of his injured relative. He prepared agreements and bonds to secure the performance of the bloody business with the most punctilious regularity, and was himself the first—as everybody will recollect—to enter the queen's chamber on that dreadful night, startling her as much by the ghastliness of his sickly countenance as by the determination of his manner. For all the circumstances of that cruel action, historians have relied too much upon the representations of Mary, and too little upon those of Lord Ruthven. Even at the present day, the careful collector of Mary's letters (Prince Alexandre Labanoff) has not disdained to revive the old fable that Rizio was poignarded in the presence of the queen. Mary perhaps asserted as much, but the fact is shown to have been otherwise by her own letters, and by all the other evidence upon the subject. Lord Ruthven states the matter thus: "And where her Majestie allegeth that night that Davie was slayen some held pistoletts to her majesties wombe, some stracke winniardes so neir her crage, that she felt the coldnes of the iron, with many other such like sayings, which we take God to record [he was writing on behalf of himself and all the other leaders in the enterprise] was never meant nor done, for the said Davie received never a stracke in her majesty's presence, nor was not stricken till he was at the farthest door of her Majesty's utter-chamber, as is before rehersed. Her majestie makes all there allegances to drawe the sayde Earle Morton, Lordes Ruthven and Lyndsaye, and their complices in greater hatred with other forren princes, and with the nobilitie and comōnaltie of the realme, who hath experience of the contrarie, and knowes that there was no evell ment to her majesties bodye."<sup>a</sup> In another part of his narrative Lord Ruthven states, that some time after the murder, when the queen and her husband had passed into the utter-chamber, and Ruthven had been absent from them for a considerable

<sup>a</sup> Caligula, B ix. fol. 278.



time, pacifying an uproar which had arisen in another part of the palace, he returned into the queen's presence. She was then so ignorant of what had taken place that "she inquired, what was become of Davye?" Lord Ruthven admits that he answered "that he believed he was in the king's chamber, for he thought it not good to shewe her as he deed was, for fear of putting her majesty in greater trouble."

There were formerly two copies of Lord Ruthven's Narrative in the Cotton Library: one in Julius, probably F vi., and the other in Caligula B ix. The former has long disappeared. The latter, being inaccurately referred to in the index, has escaped the notice of many inquirers. Keith printed the narrative from the MS. in Julius in his *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, 1734, fol., but with alterations and modernisations which occasionally affect the sense very materially, and which have been followed in several subsequent reprints.

Lord Ruthven's narrative leaves no reason to doubt that his dagger was one of the many by which the body of the unhappy Rizio was pierced. It is also clear, although not from his narrative, that he was attended, if not assisted, by his son, who must at that time have been very young, as he was not the eldest born of a father who was then only 45 years of age. When the murderers of Rizio were deserted by their royal patron, Ruthven and his son fled into England. A letter communicated to the *Archæologia* by Sir Henry Ellis in 1816,<sup>a</sup> proves that they were at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the beginning of May, 1566, and there Patrick Lord Ruthven died on the 13th June following; three months after the assassination of Rizio, and six days before the birth of James VI. The circumstances of Lord Ruthven's life indicate a man of stern, determined character. His father, who was slain at Flodden, was one of the earliest and firmest friends of the Reformation. He followed closely in his father's footsteps. John Knox described him in 1559 as "a man of great experience and inferior to few in stoutness,"<sup>b</sup> and four years afterwards, when Knox was summoned before the Queen and Council, Ruthven justified the character which Knox had given of him, by being the only one of the Council who dared to say a word on behalf of the great Scottish Reformer.

The baptism of the young Prince of Scotland was signalised by the grant of a pardon to the surviving conspirators against Rizio, and within a short time afterwards William Master of Ruthven, now, by the death of his father, the fourth Lord Ruthven, returned to his native country. His subsequent course for several years may be conjectured from two circumstances. 1. He was in arms against Mary at Carberry-hill, and, 2, he was one of the two Commissioners appointed by her

<sup>a</sup> Vol. XVIII. p. 271.

<sup>b</sup> Knox's Works, ed. Laing, ii. 6 and 406.

compulsory act of resignation, to invest her son with the kingdom. Whatever contributed to the establishment of Protestantism, to the maintenance of the young king on the throne in opposition to his mother, or to the closest alliance with England, was sure to be supported by Lord Ruthven. But he possessed none of the active energy of his father. His nature was calm, indolent, passive. None of the great public events in which he was subsequently mixed up originated with him. His course was ordinarily straightforward and consistent, but he followed the lead of men more busy and more active than himself. On the 24th June, 1571, during the short regency of Lennox, and when the king's party was fighting for existence, he was appointed treasurer of Scotland for life. It was an office strictly ministerial, but honourable in station and important in influence. On the 23rd August, 1581, Lord Ruthven was advanced to the earldom of Gowrie. This accession of dignity was obtained at the time when the young king, having been finally emancipated from the regency of Morton, had begun to exhibit that inordinate partiality for favourites which was the cause of so many of his subsequent troubles. His first favourite was Esmé Stewart, son of an uncle of the king's father, a young Frenchman of polished manners and amiable temper. The king heaped honours and favour upon him, but the people hated him, both as a Frenchman and as a Roman Catholic. Conjoined with Esmé Stewart, whom the king created Duke of Lennox, and almost as much distinguished in the king's regard, was James Stewart, Earl of Arran. No two men were ever more dissimilar. Lennox was kind, amiable, and placable, sensitive to popular opinion, and free from glaring moral defects. Born and educated in France, his manners were marked by the elegance and affability which have ever distinguished that courteous nation; generous and affectionate himself, he strove, as much from feeling as from policy, to bring about some arrangement for the release of the unhappy Mary, and for the relief of his Roman Catholic brethren from the persecution under which they were suffering. Arran was in almost every respect the opposite of his coadjutor in power. History can point to few men so daringly unobservant of all the customary restraints of public or private life. In manners imperious, overbearing, insolent, to a degree that would be incredible, but for the concurrent testimony of contemporaries of all sects and parties. Every thing he possessed was acquired by open and daring wrong. Received as a friend by the king's uncle-in-law, the Earl of March, Arran corrupted the wife of his host, and induced her, when far gone with child, to petition for a divorce, for a reason which, as Robertson declares, no modest woman will ever plead. The judges, corrupted and overawed, set a precedent for the similar case which afterwards occurred in England to another of James's favourites, by pronouncing the



desired sentence, and public decency was outraged, as in the English case, by a pompous marriage, which the sober people of Scotland beheld with horror. Arran's rise to power was upon the neck of Morton, whom he prosecuted in person with the bitterest rancour. His acquirement of his title was equally scandalous. He was appointed tutor, or as it is termed in English law "committee," of the Earl of Arran, who had become lunatic. Being, in that capacity, possessed of the Earl's estates, the fraudulent guardian put forth a frivolous and monstrous claim to both estates and title, and procured from the young king a grant of both. Nor, when he had attained to wealth and power, did he strive, by moderation, to make people forget the iniquity which had stained their acquisition. His public display exceeded any thing that had ever been seen in a subject in Scotland. His extravagance was boundless. Out of the reckless profusion of his expenditure arose a greediness and lust of perpetual acquisition which took entire possession of him. No man who had an estate was safe if Arran set his heart upon his possessions. And if legal oppression seemed likely to fail, his ill-gotten wife was ready to spur on his evil purposes by predictions of highland seers and spae-wives with whom she was in league, or if necessary, like another Jezebel, to procure for him a band of lying witnesses. If it were not for the notorious blindness of regal favouritism, and especially of the favouritism of King James, one would wonder how it was possible that a man so wicked and so worthless should have acquired any hold upon his regard. But Arran had qualities which James admired. His personal appearance was most attractive, his courage was unquestionable, and he was ever anxious to relieve his young sovereign, who was fond of any thing in preference to the proper business of his kingly office, from all the cares of government. Arran made it appear as if he took upon him the transaction of public affairs with no other view than to afford his sovereign leisure and opportunities for the indulgence of his particular tastes. It was not difficult for such a man gradually to wind his coils very securely round a vain, good-tempered lad of sixteen.

That such a state of things would produce a convulsion was obvious, even if it had lacked that element which was mixed up with all the troubles of Scotland in the reigns of Mary and James—religious discord. But that element was not wanting. The educated, and consequently the most influential, portion of the people of Scotland were very determined Protestants. Their leading clergy, the coadjutors and successors of John Knox, were men of great talent and unquenchable zeal. They exercised an influence over the minds of their flocks, and by their writings and through their church-assemblies over the people at large, which can scarcely be appreciated in colder and less enthusiastic times. All this influence was opposed to

Lennox, who was really a Roman Catholic, and to Arran, who scoffed at all religion. The people saw their young king surrounded by Roman Catholics, and taught to look with dislike upon the popular faith and upon the popular leaders. They beheld him hurried along in a course which could only lead to a partial restoration of Roman Catholicism, and to a consequent disunion of interests, and breach of friendship, with their Protestant neighbours. There was only one way by which such results could be avoided. The parliament of Scotland afforded no means for removing the royal favourites; the judicial institutions were entirely prostituted to their interests: force was the only remedy.

Arran was warned that it was intended to resort to arms. He derided the warning, and boasted that if the Protestants dared to stir he would chase them into mouse-holes.<sup>a</sup> But he miscalculated his own strength and theirs. The plan determined upon was to procure the king to visit the house of one of the Protestant lords, and there to deliver to him a written remonstrance against the misgovernment of his favourites, with a request for the construction of a council more in unison with the feelings and interests of the nation. It was strenuously denied that it was any part of the plan to detain the king, or to put any restraint upon his person or inclinations. That was probably the understanding of many persons who were in the plot; but I can scarcely think that there were not amongst them some men who had determined what was to be done if the king, as it was most likely he would do, refused their requests with indignation. Gowrie was not at first consulted by the framers of the plot, but his castle of Ruthven, being in the neighbourhood of the king's ordinary hunting-ground, was conveniently situated for the accomplishment of the scheme, and after some solicitation Gowrie agreed to lend his house and join the plot. In the events which ensued, and especially in the actual detention of the king, he did not take the principal share; but the use made of his house, and his influential position in the state, ultimately rendered him, in popular estimation, one of the most prominent persons concerned in this daring movement. The scheme was executed on the 12th August, 1582. In spite of tears and prayers, the king was detained in Ruthven Castle; he was coarsely told that it was better that bairns should greet than bearded men; and all the functions of government were assumed in his name by the lords opposed to Lennox and Arran. The whole character of the government was changed at one blow. Some imperfect tidings of the detention of the king were quickly brought to Arran. He gathered round him a few of his customary attendants, threw himself on horseback, and hastened to the rescue. He

<sup>a</sup> Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 281, ed. Bannatyne.



fell in with some of the retainers of his enemies : they wounded several of his attendants, and chased and sought to capture himself. Flying from their fury, he entered Ruthven Castle. He demanded to see the king. The servants of the lords crowded round and seized him. The fate of Rizio seemed impending over him, when the Earl of Gowrie threw himself between Arran and his assailants, and saved his life.<sup>a</sup> This incident is known by the name of the Raid of Ruthven. Among its immediate results was the proscription of Lennox, whose gentle nature was unable to bear up against the sorrows and disappointments of banishment. He died within twelve months afterwards. Arran was committed close prisoner to the custody of Gowrie.

The persons engaged in the Raid of Ruthven probably hoped that after a little while the young king would have been sincerely reconciled to them ; that absence would have blunted his recollection of his old favourites ; or that he might have been attracted by some pleasant countenance among themselves. None of these results ensued. The Ruthven lords governed the county for about ten months. The king, and the Estates of Scotland, and the kirk, all confirmed what had been done, over and over again. The Raid was declared by all the authorities in Church and State to have been a good service to the king and kingdom. But the king felt himself to be a prisoner. He signed whatever papers were put before him ; he did whatever he was requested to do ; he spoke with kindness and familiarity to all the Protestant party ; he professed the greatest anxiety to be upon friendly terms with Queen Elizabeth. But he secretly whispered in the ear of De Menainville, a French ambassador who visited Scotland to pave the way for a counter-revolution, that “although he had two eyes, two ears, and two hands, he had but one heart, and that that was French ;” and when Robert Cary, who was sent to him by Elizabeth, spoke disparagingly of Lennox, the young monarch burst into a flood of natural tears, and passionately defended the character of his banished friend. It was not without reason that several English ambassadors wrote home about this period the most decided statements of their conviction that James’s mind was totally alienated from England. Davison, in a letter as yet, I believe, unpublished, declared, that it might be “set down for a maxim, that the king is enemy to her majesty, and her estate, which needs no probation for that it is so manifest ;”<sup>b</sup> and Lord Hunsdon, writing shortly afterwards, but when a change of circumstances permitted the young king to speak more openly, warned the English queen not to look for amity or kind dealing at James’s hands. “If there were any good inclination in him towards your

<sup>a</sup> Melville’s *Memoirs*, p. 281, ed. Bannatyne.

<sup>b</sup> Caligula, C VIII. fol. 22.

highness," he continues, "which I neither find nor believe, yet he hath such bad company about him, and so maliciously bent against your highness, they will not suffer him to remain in it two days together."<sup>a</sup>

James was enabled to cast off the domination of the Protestant lords through the intervention of Colonel William Stewart, a brother of Arran. By a *coup d'état* as singular and as bloodless as the Raid of Ruthven he set the king at liberty. The friends of Lennox and Arran were once more permitted to approach him. The children of the former were sent for from France. A Council of State was formed which comprised members of both parties. Every thing seemed to betoken that an attempt was to be made to govern the country upon principles of conciliation and compromise. Above all, as connected with our present purpose, the king paid a special visit to Ruthven Castle, "to let the country see that he was entirely reconciled with the Earl of Gowrie." The Earl received his majesty with all possible splendour. After dinner he fell on his knees publicly before him, and entreated pardon for the indignity which had been put upon him at his last visit to that "unhappy house," assuring the king that the detention of his person was unpremeditated, and had fallen out rather by accident than by deliberation. The king treated the Earl with the greatest kindness, told him that he well knew how blindly he had been involved in the conspiracy by the practices of other persons, and promised never to impute to him his accidental fault.<sup>b</sup> This interview and promise must have been long and bitterly remembered by the family of Gowrie.

During all this time Arran remained a prisoner in the custody of Gowrie, but the heart of the king yearned for the society of his old favourite. Many of the nobility gave their consent to his being set at liberty, "only the Earl of Gowrie," says Melville, "resisted." But Gowrie was no man to resist long. The king begged that Arran might be permitted to come and see him "but once," and then return to his place of detention. Melville interceded with Gowrie on the king's behalf. Compromise under such circumstances was difficult, Gowrie withdrew his opposition, and the obnoxious favourite was set at liberty. The consequences are related in Melville's Memoirs, as published by the Bannatyne Club, with most instructive minuteness. Arran began by attending the meetings of the Council of State with the king, and as his friend. He then put it into the king's head that it was "a fashious business" to sit listening to the discussion of contrary opinions, and persuaded his majesty to take his pastime in hunting, and allow him "to tarry and hear us," says Melville, "and report again, at his majesty's returning, all our opinions

<sup>a</sup> Murdin, p. 591.

<sup>b</sup> Melville's Memoirs, p. 291.



and conclusions." This he observed only "twa or three times." His next step was to transact certain particular affairs of his own accord, reporting to the king that he had the authority and consent of the Council. From that position it was an easy leap to the entire direction of the business of the government. His first great measure was to lay before the Council a royal instrument repudiating all the proclamations, acts of state, and royal promises, by which the actors in the Raid of Ruthven had been pardoned. The Raid was proposed to be declared treason, with a proviso that those who had taken part in it might obtain pardon upon submitting to such temporary banishment, money payment, or other punishment, as the king, or rather as Arran, might think fit. Such a proposal was vehemently resisted in the Council, as being "directly against his Majesty's mind and promise." But the king's mind was changed, and Arran was supreme. Melville led the opposition in the Council. Arran taunted him with his love to the Ruthven lords. Melville charged upon his assailant a love for their lands. Arran replied that Melville would ruin the king. Melville answered "Either you or I." Whereupon Arran "leapt out of the Council House in a rage."<sup>a</sup> The obnoxious Melville, and those who shared his opinions, were soon got rid of. Their places were supplied by a flattering faction of Arran's dependents, and "all things," Melville concludes, "were turned upside down."

Calderwood and Melville, Spottiswood and Keith, Bowes, Davison and Hume of Godscroft, writers of all parties, and with the best means of information, describe the subsequent conduct of Arran in terms which apply only to an almost unparalleled tyranny. The whole realm trembled under him. Day by day some new stratagem was devised to obtain forfeitures and escheats, lands or benefices, or to get goods. The unscrupulous ingenuity of pettifoggers was racked to find flaws in the lives or titles of Arran's enemies, and to make his own acquisitions sure. The king was excited to the highest indignation against the Ruthven lords. Angus, Mar, and Glamis, the real leaders in the Raid, were banished, the first of them to the north of Scotland, and the two others to Ireland. In the public mind, and in the estimation of the king, a great distinction was made between those men and Gowrie, but Arran made none. Gowrie was wealthy, he was an easy, simple-hearted man, but he was popular, he had influence which might render him dangerous, and one of the Countess of Arran's Highland soothsayers had declared, that "rack he would." The prophesy was one which Arran and his wife determined should not remain unfulfilled. Gowrie excited the suspicions of his friends by endeavouring to buy peace by a partial submission. He acknowledged *peccatum in formâ, sed non in materiâ*. The king was

<sup>a</sup> Melville's Memoirs, p. 314.

satisfied, but not Arran. Gowrie was annoyed by all the means which upstart insolence could devise. At length, bending before the storm, he prudently retired from court to his residence in Perth. The king, who seems really to have been partial to him, recalled Melville to court and employed him as a mediator. Melville followed Gowrie to Perth and intreated him to return. He did so, and the king took pains to reconcile him with Arran. But no terms were kept with him. He was vexed and "put at," as Melville phrases it, in every imaginable way. Arran "hated his person," says the same authority, "but loved his lands," and was bent upon obtaining them. Thus annoyed and persecuted, Gowrie determined to quit the country. He applied to the king for a licence to visit France. It was granted, and Gowrie repaired to Dundee as a convenient sea-port for his embarkation. At this point of the narrative the correspondence of the English ambassadors comes most opportunely to our aid, and enables us to give a minute detail of what actually took place. The story is a simple and very natural one.

If Gowrie had now sailed at once, some pretence would no doubt have been found for a forfeiture of his lands. It is evident, from what follows, that such was his own opinion; but his life would have been saved. But expedition was not among Gowrie's qualities. He was ever, remarks a contemporary and friend, "over-slow of nature." Once at Dundee, at a distance from the annoyances inflicted upon him by Arran, he began to repent of his determination to quit his native country. He repaired from time to time to Perth, where he was universally beloved. He wandered over his beautiful domains. He lingered in the apartments which he had recently added to his mansion; and which he was occupied in furnishing with princely splendour. He remarked, with a sigh, to one who visited him there,<sup>a</sup>—and the remark indicates the character of his mind, almost as much as it does the state of his feelings,—

"Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?  
Barbarus has segetes?"

Again he passed to Dundee, and there, uncertain, doubtful, lingering, awaited the arrival of the vessel which he had hired. At this time—the very crisis of his fate—Gowrie's old friends of the Raid of Ruthven began to think that the cup of Arran's iniquity was full. They determined to return from their places of banishment, and rise in insurrection, with the hope of being able to free the country from Arran's tyranny. For a considerable time Gowrie was not invited to join them. They were

<sup>a</sup> Hume's *Hist. of Douglas and Angus*, ii. 318, edit. 1748.

displeased with his recent partial submission, and were doubtful how far his slow and easy nature could be depended upon. David Hume, a well-known servant of the house of Douglas, waited upon Gowrie secretly to sound him. Gowrie received him in the dead of night, opened his heart to him as freely as he could to any one, and sent him on his way convinced of Gowrie's continued adherence to his ancient principles, and charged with an assurance to his old associates of his willingness to join them in their new design. Gowrie afterwards learnt that James Erskine, a friend and relation of the Earl of Mar, was employed as a messenger to carry tidings between Angus, in the north of Scotland, and Mar, who was in Ireland. With more decision and activity than customarily belonged to his character, Gowrie sent forth trusty servants to keep watch for this fatal messenger upon the public roads and in the mountain passes.<sup>a</sup>

In the mean time some rumours of a stir among the Ruthven lords reached the ears of Arran. With his usual promptitude he ordered Angus to remove still further from the capital, into the country of Huntly, the head of the Roman Catholics in the north. He also sent a royal command to Gowrie to set sail within fifteen days. Gowrie made pretence of employing himself about the business of his embarkation, and remained at Dundee awaiting news from Angus and Mar. The limited time was running fast away. The Countess of Gowrie, who had been recently confined, was lying very ill; difficulties, either real or pretended, arose about the vessel which Gowrie had chartered. It was determined that Athol should go to the king, and intreat an extension of the period limited for Gowrie's embarkation.<sup>b</sup>

In due time James Erskine was intercepted, detained, and brought into Dundee. Gowrie was now fully admitted into the designs of the conspirators. No attempt was to be made upon the king's person. That folly had been fatal to them on the former occasion. The removal of Arran was to be publicly put forth as their sole object, some principal place in the kingdom was to be seized, and the people were to be invited to join them. It had been doubted whether Perth or Stirling should be the place to be seized. Perth was Gowrie's town, Stirling was Mar's. Perth was a stronghold of Protestantism, but the situation of Stirling, in reference to the capital, and its greater capabilities of defence, determined them to give it the preference. The castle was insufficiently garrisoned, and it was not doubted that a sufficient force could be assembled to carry it, almost at any moment, in spite of its

<sup>a</sup> Hume's Hist. of Douglas and Angus, ii. 318, edit. 1748; Spottiswood's Hist. of Church of Scotland, 331, 332.

<sup>b</sup> Caligula, C VIII. fol 4.



commanding situation. Friday the 17th April, 1584, was fixed upon as the day for assembling at Stirling, and Gowrie was commissioned to give directions to his tenants and retainers, and also to those of the other confederates in that part of the country, to assemble accordingly. Gowrie undertook this part of the plot, but is said to have executed it very imperfectly. He communicated with the persons indicated, but did not "bind them to be ready to accomplish such particular effects" as were intended. "After his accustomed cold manner of dealings," he did not conclude with them "in any plain sort."<sup>a</sup> Probably he thought it better not to divulge the place and time of meeting until the last moment. In the mean time he passed backwards and forwards between Perth and Dundee, as if settling his private affairs before his departure.

On the 29th March, Bowes writes from Berwick, that secret information had been brought to the king at Edinburgh that Mar and Glamis had suddenly returned out of Ireland. It was instantly suspected that some enterprise was imminent. Soldiers were enlisted by beat of drum in Edinburgh, and the gentry of the Lothians were summoned to mount guard over the person of the king. They attended in arms to the number of seven or eight hundred. They kept watch and ward in Edinburgh during the night, and during the day they scoured the country for five or six miles in every direction. Nothing occurred to justify these precautions. Mar and Glamis had indeed returned to Scotland, but they remained concealed until the appointed day. In the mean time Athol arrived in Edinburgh with Gowrie's request for the extension of the period for his departure. It was peremptorily refused. Athol begged to be allowed to return and speak to his father-in-law before his departure. He was ordered to remain in Edinburgh during the king's pleasure.<sup>b</sup>

On the 10th April, Bowes writes, that the courtiers gave out that Athol had shewn a letter of Gowrie's which disclosed a conspiracy.<sup>c</sup> And at that time, as we are told by another authority who wrote after the event, his majesty dreamed a dream that he saw the Earl of Gowrie taken, and brought in as a prisoner before him by Colonel Stewart, Arran's brother, and that that event had the effect of quieting the country.<sup>d</sup> Whether there was any truth at all in the circumstance reported of Athol I have not discovered. It is to be hoped not. No such letter is mentioned again. His majesty's dream, if we could establish its exact chronology, would probably be found to have taken place after it had been determined to send Colonel Stewart with the design which occupied his majesty's nightly thoughts. That Arran should determine to arrest the unwilling, lingering exile, who had

<sup>a</sup> Caligula, C VIII. fol. 19.<sup>b</sup> Ibid. fol. 1 and fol. 4.<sup>c</sup> Ibid. fol. 6.<sup>d</sup> Melville, p. 326.

already overstayed his time, will not be thought extraordinary. It is strange that he did not also attempt to secure the person of Angus.

On the 13th April, Colonel Stewart was sent to Dundee by sea, with 100 men, charged by a royal warrant, written by the hand of Arran himself, to bring the body of Gowrie to Edinburgh. At the same time, the Earl of Crawford, who was the provost of Dundee, was despatched thither to await the arrival of Colonel Stewart. The Earl bore with him stringent papers directed to the municipal authorities and loyal burghers, charging them to aid and abet the royal messenger. Crawford reached Dundee on Tuesday the 14th. His arrival in what was looked upon as his own town, the burgh of which he was the official head, does not seem to have excited any suspicion. At 3 o'clock on the following morning, Wednesday the 15th April, the vessel which bore Colonel Stewart hove in sight. It was nine o'clock A.M. when they made the land. It is likely that the vessel had attracted attention in the town, and that some rumour which had got afloat respecting her drew Gowrie to the harbour when she entered. Certain it is that he was there, and that he saw Colonel Stewart, the brother of his deadly foe, step forth upon the shore. He could scarcely doubt what was the Colonel's errand. He retired hastily to his lodgings, which were in the house of a burgher named William Drummond. He summoned his servants, barricaded the house, and set the Colonel at defiance. Had he been in his own house at Perth, in the midst of his tenants and retainers, and surrounded by a population to whom he was known, and by whom he was beloved, it is likely that he might have been able to resist a much larger force than Colonel Stewart had to bring against him; but the influence of the Earl of Crawford secured the townsmen, and with their assistance Colonel Stewart effected Gowrie's capture, after a defence, some say of three hours, some of six, and some of twelve. On the day following he was removed from Dundee. He passed Friday the 17th, the day of the appointed meeting at Stirling, on the road or at sea, and was brought into Edinburgh a prisoner on the day following.<sup>a</sup>

The capture of Gowrie was the defeat of the plot. The news that their chief was taken was carried to Perth. It was circulated throughout the country with that peculiar speed with which a rude people convey from one to another tidings in which they have a common interest. When the 17th arrived, not one of Gowrie's retainers stirred from home. Even if actually apprised of the day, no one would dream of keeping tryst, or taking the field, in the absence of his chief; and those who were not Gowrie's men, but with whom he had communicated, would conclude that the

<sup>a</sup> Caligula, C viii. fol. 9 and fol. 11. Moysie's Mem. p. 48.

whole matter was at an end when Gowrie was captured. Not so Mar and Glamis, who did not hear that Gowrie was taken in time to change their plans. They left their hiding places and came into Stirling. Mar established his head quarters in a house which belonged to his mother. Angus, although apprised of Gowrie's capture, hastened from the north to join his confederates. The town was yielded to them, the castle was summoned, and in a few hours they were at the head of 5 or 600 horse. On the day following, the castle, which was in the keeping of Henry Stewart, another brother of the Earl of Arran, was yielded to them. But now the fact that Gowrie was taken became generally known. To keep up the spirits of their followers it was given out by Angus and Mar, that Athol would join them on the morrow, with his own followers as well as those of Gowrie. The morrow came, no reinforcements appeared, and those who had assembled became dispirited. A messenger was despatched by Angus and Mar to Bowes to beg the assistance of Queen Elizabeth; but Bowes had no instructions.<sup>a</sup>

In the meantime Arran was proclaiming far and wide that the design of the conspirators was to do violence to the person of the king as they had before done in the Raid of Ruthven. Colonel Stewart set forth with 1000 men towards Stirling, boasting that he would "knock on the castle walls;" but, after reconnoitring the position of the confederates, he contented himself with watching their movements from a distance. In a few days much larger forces were collected. The king took the field in person. The lords found that their enterprise was hopeless. They retired from Stirling, disbanded their forces, and sought refuge in England. On the 29th April, Angus, Mar, Glamis, and the rest of the leaders, reached Berwick, and Bowes wrote on the 30th that the king had disbanded his forces, and intended to return to Edinburgh on the day following.<sup>b</sup>

Only one person now remained to be dealt with. Gowrie was kept for a week in Edinburgh. His wife had left Dundee immediately after his departure, with intention to intercede on his behalf with the king; but she was so unwell as to be obliged to travel by short stages and at the slowest pace. Her purpose became known, and she was stayed by a royal mandate which forbade her to come within 20 miles of the king's person. She took refuge in Stirling, where she remained during the disturbances created by the lords, and where a fresh trouble awaited her. From Edinburgh Gowrie was sent on the 25th April, under the care of Colonel Stewart, to Kinneil.<sup>c</sup> After five days he was removed from thence to Stirling, to

<sup>a</sup> Caligula, C viii. fol. 12, 14, 16.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. fol. 16, 17, 18.

<sup>c</sup> Near Linlithgow; a part of the spoils which Arran had obtained from the ruin of the Hamiltons.



take his trial, or rather,—for his fate was pre-determined,—to be put to death. Mr. John Graham, “a man fit for the time,” was appointed to the bench specially to preside at his trial. No pleader was present, save the Lord Advocate, who was the public prosecutor; Arran appeared as one of the jury; and the Earl of Argyle having desired to be excused from taking a part in a business so clearly settled beforehand, was charged upon pain of treason to appear and do what was required of him.<sup>a</sup>

Gowrie was subjected to many private examinations, and it was spread abroad that he had made important disclosures which implicated no fewer than thirty-two “noblemen and barons.” Here it is, that at length we come to our new papers, and are dependent upon them to supply the narrative. They are three in number, and are contained in volume Caligula C viii. of the Cotton MSS.<sup>b</sup> The first professes to give a narrative of certain devices or stratagems used by Arran and Sir Robert Melvill in order to secure the conviction of Gowrie. The second and third are two narratives of his trial and execution, which differ only in minute particulars. The history of these papers seems to be, that Davison sent them to the English court; for, writing on the 18th May, 1584, he says, “I have made means to recover the whole form of Gowrie his process, which I look for daily, and will send your honour [that is, Sir Francis Walsingham], so soon as it comes to my hands.”<sup>c</sup> The first and second papers are copies of the time. I infer from a reference given by Mr. Tytler that the original of the first may be in the State Paper Office. The third, although in substance like the second, is unlike both the others in appearance. They are written in a common transcriber’s hand; it is in a hand similar to court hand. It, like the second paper, professes to be the account of a person who sat behind Gowrie at his trial, and is probably an original narrative written by some legal officer. All the papers are penned with a favourable feeling towards Gowrie; but it does not appear to have resulted from any particular acquaintance with him, nor do I see anything in any of them which gives any clue to their authorship. The second and third are plain narratives. They tell a tale which need not be doubted. It is too much in accordance with the practice of the time in cases of political offences to be thought strange. But many questions arise respecting the story told in the first paper. Before glancing at those questions,—and I shall merely glance at them,—it may be as well to submit copies of the papers themselves to the Society. They run as follows:—

<sup>a</sup> Caligula, C viii. fol. 40.

<sup>b</sup> There are copies of the papers Nos. I. and II., of about the same date as the Cotton. MS., in the Harleian MS. 291, fol. 94 and 96.

<sup>c</sup> Caligula, C viii. fol. 37<sup>b</sup>.

## No. 1.

MS. Cotton. Caligula C. viii. fol. 23.

xxx April, 1584.

The forme of certaine devises used by Arren & S<sup>r</sup> Robert Melvill against Gowrie.

Gowrie beinge deteyned in Edenbr. as a prisoner, Arreyn, accompanied w<sup>th</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Robert Melvill, came to the chambre where he laye, and, after they had used diuers wordes of office unto him at the firste entrie, w<sup>th</sup> protestacons that they both tendreth his standinge, & the wellfarre of his person, as entierelie as anie of his best affectionate well willers or favours could ever do, they begone to lett him understand of the greate evell will the K. Ma<sup>ty</sup> had conceyved against him, especially because his H<sup>s</sup> held him to be the principall deuiser of his cousin the D. of Lennox his bannishment, w<sup>ch</sup> extreame dealinge his H<sup>s</sup> could hardelie be moved to pdon. And therefore, consideringe the K. was so evill affected unto him (w<sup>ch</sup> they affirmed to be of veritie), they advised his L. to employ his creditt w<sup>th</sup> some of his spetiall frendes in courte to labor at his Ma<sup>ties</sup> handes to accept him agayne in his favo<sup>r</sup>, els their opinion was, that he would fynd himselfe in a great strait & in perill of his lief.

Gowrie answerid, that anent the exilenge of Lennox, his pte was no deaper nor the rest of the counsell for the tyme. That nevertheless he would fain doe what in him laie to conquere his Ma<sup>tie</sup> favo<sup>r</sup> and good likinge. To w<sup>ch</sup> effect he could devise nor finde out none meeter to be suitors for him then the twoe were. First, because he was a prisonner, & therefore not able to sollicite anie other to deale for him, unless they by fortune came in to visit him; and next, for that he knewe of none in cort that he durst better lyppin unto<sup>a</sup> nor them; both in respect of the great familiaritie & frendshippe he alwayes had especiallie w<sup>th</sup> them aboue all others, and in consideration of divers other obligations, wherby he trusted they did acknowledge themselves to be bound unto him in the tyme of his credyt.

"We would gladlie," said they, "do anie thinge for you we could; but to deale directlie in that cause it should procure unto o<sup>r</sup>selves the kinges displeasure." Quoth Gowrie, "Yf you will not do for me, lett me have yo<sup>r</sup> good counsell, whom other you thinke meetest that I shall have recourse to."

"Certainelye," said they, "the onlie moeyen that we thineke is left to yo<sup>r</sup> L. wherby you maie have respect to the preservation of yo<sup>r</sup> lief & insumate yo<sup>r</sup> selfe agayne in his M<sup>ty</sup> good grace is this, to writte a generall lre unto his H<sup>s</sup>, shewinge that you have ben of the privie counsell of some conspiracies intended against his Ma<sup>ties</sup> owne person; and if it might please his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to suffer you to have accesse to speake with his H<sup>s</sup> you should oppen uppe the specialties of the matter unto him.

"Nay," sayth Gowrie, "that shall I never do, for so I should promise the thinge w<sup>ch</sup> I could not discharge myselfe of. I should confesse an untrueth, and put myselfe in a farre worse case then I am in. I will rather trust in the simplicitie of myn honest cause & upright meaninge, and take my hazarte as it shall please God to dispone upon me."

<sup>a</sup> Trust to.

"Your L." saie they, "maie do as yo<sup>r</sup> harte best semet you, but in o<sup>r</sup> oppinion the generalnes of the līe would make the kinge courious to knowe further of the speeciall, and to that effect it appeares his Ma<sup>ty</sup> would send for you to be better informed in it. Nowe you, hauinge a place to take in priue w<sup>th</sup> the K., might open uppe the simple trueth unto him, that ye had devised the pollicie of the līe onlie to have accesse to tell yo<sup>r</sup> owne tale unto his Highnes, and that, in verie deede, you knowe nothinge of suche thinges as were mentioned therin.

"So havinge made yo<sup>r</sup> excuse (w<sup>ch</sup> we doubt not his Maties clemencie & good inclynation will take in good pte) you maye laie open yo<sup>r</sup> owne innocencie, in the w<sup>ch</sup> the K. is jealous over you, and yo<sup>r</sup> sincere meaninge at all tymes to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> estate & pson, & by that meanes conquere again to yo<sup>r</sup> selfe that place in his Ma<sup>ty</sup> favor w<sup>ch</sup> you have unpromisedlie lost."

"That pollicie is verie perielous," sayth Gowry, "for wher I knowe my self so cleare of all erymes against his H<sup>ty</sup>, I should by that meanes make myne owne doyttie,<sup>a</sup> and not being sure of my lief, nor how the Kinge will accept myn excuse, incurre the danger of forefaltrie for confessinge treason, to the tynsell<sup>b</sup> of my lief, and the defamacion and utter ruine of my house.

"Notwithstandinge all these dangers," sayeth Arreyn, "w<sup>ch</sup> ye seame to fall into by that confession, thus farre I will certifie you, that, whether such thinges be or noc, you must confesse the foreknowledge of them, or els it is concluded you shall dye."

"Goes it so hard w<sup>th</sup> me?" sayes Gowrie: "if ther be no remedie, in case I had an assured promise of my lief, I would not sticke to prove the device of the Ire."

"I will then," sayeth Arren, "uppon myn hono<sup>r</sup> faythfullie promise you, that yo<sup>r</sup> lief shall be in no danger if y<sup>e</sup> will so doe."

Gowry, pswaded by their dissembled friendship, but cheiffie by this sollempnic pmise, in the end condescended to the pswasions, & uppon the forementioned pretences, he wrote a lre to his H<sup>ty</sup>, to the verie same effect as they had deuised. The lre was sent to the Kinge; neuertheles Gowrie abode still unsent for, till he was conveyed to Sterlinge. Ther his assise elected & sett downe, & the dittay red, the assessors could fynde nothinge, wherof uppon equitie & good conscience he might be deprived of his lief. The w<sup>ch</sup> when Arreyn pecaued, he sayd, "My LL. I can verifie that this man here confesseth himself to have ben on the counsell of some conspiracies intended against his Ma<sup>ty</sup> owne pson, and therew<sup>th</sup>all produced the before mentionned lre, in presence of the whole LL. assissors. Then it was doubted least the lre might have ben forged by some of Gowries unfreindes, and his hande-writtinge counterfeyted. The w<sup>ch</sup> to resolve them of, Arreyn desired Gowrie to be called in, "who," sayd he, "will not denye the same to be his owne hand-writtinge." Gowrie is brought in, &<sup>c</sup> he confesseth the same to be his writtinge, and uppon that occasion repted the whole progresse of the speaches passed betweene Arreyn, Sr Roberte Melvill & himself: he shoves them howe they towe entased him to wryte it, uppon what pretence it was written, and howe Arreyn promiseth unto him in so doinge that uppon his hono<sup>r</sup> he should warrant unto him his lief: hereat Arren stormeth and gave him the lye. Gowrie answered, that he knewe in what case he was, that he durst use him w<sup>th</sup> such termes, and that he would mainteyne the veritie of that w<sup>ch</sup> he had spoken against him or anie other, while he was able to stand. This contention was pacified, Gowrie was removed, and uppon his own con-

<sup>a</sup> Indictment.<sup>b</sup> Loss.<sup>c</sup> The, in MS.



fession of the wrytinge to be his, and reconcillinge <sup>a</sup> of the confessed <sup>b</sup> conspiracie, he was condemned to the deathe, accordinge to the prepractice practised against the Earle of Moreton. At last, being uppon the scaffold, readie to suffer, befor the whole people he repeated over the discourse of the before specified conference, in the selfe same wordes ye have heard it reported, and he tooke it uppon his soule & conscience at his latter houre, that (howbeit the promise of his lief moved him to direct this tre to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>) his pretence & meaninge was none other therby but to have had speache w<sup>th</sup> his highnes by that meane, and that he never was privie nor knewe of anie conspiracie against his Ma<sup>ties</sup> person, and therefore could accuse no manner of man theruppon.

## No. II.

MS. Cotton. Caligula C. viii. fol. 24 b.

3 Maij, 1584.

The manner and forme of examination & death of W<sup>m</sup> Earle of Gowrie, & Lord Ruthen & Derleton, great Tresorier of Scotland, the 3<sup>e</sup> day of May, & after eyght howers at night, 1584.

Beinge brought from Edinbrough w<sup>th</sup> the armie, he was conveyed to Kinneile bie Sr W<sup>m</sup> Steward of [Houston], Knight. Ther he remained fve dayes, till the tyme he was brought to Sterlinge, and the forth day thereafter was accused in these wordes, "Wittm Earle of Gowrie, yu are indited and accused of treason, notwithstandinge the incomparable hono<sup>rs</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> have receaved of the K. Ma<sup>te</sup>, as both by your offices and the augmentacō of yo<sup>r</sup> rente most plainly is manifest, as also the challenginge that honor to be of his Hignes blud, yet neuertheless, you have now latly entred in great conspiracies against his Ma<sup>te</sup>, as of before in the detaninge of o<sup>r</sup> person in yo<sup>r</sup> howse, at Ruthen." The clarke endinge w<sup>th</sup> the first of the accusa<sup>ō</sup>s, th<sup>e</sup> Earle replied, "For as much by his Ma<sup>ties</sup> licence I was to dept fourth of this countrie, & meaninge to obay his co<sup>m</sup>ādem<sup>t</sup>, I purposed to take shippinge, as the p<sup>o</sup>st, balies, & publick notaries of Dundee can recorde; notw<sup>st</sup>anding, I was stayed by a p<sup>ri</sup>vat commission peured by my adversarie and written by his owen hand, and uppon a sudden, my s<sup>er</sup>vante and freindes beinge from me de<sup>pt</sup>ed, I was pursued and beseged by all manner of hostilitie, though I was under his Ma<sup>ties</sup> protection, & havinge his great seale for my warrant: but to answer now to that werof I am accused, after the rod of Ruthen, I did take remission for it, and God is my witnes it was never ment against his state, pson, or authoritie, but for his welfare. As touching the honor w<sup>ch</sup> I have of his Ma<sup>tie</sup> in challenginge to be of his blod, truly albeit I be not in name a Steward,

<sup>a</sup> So in MS.<sup>b</sup> Confesseth in MS.

<sup>c</sup> This date is unquestionably inaccurate. Gowrie was removed from Edinburgh to Kinneil on Saturday, the 25th April, 1584; and from Kinneil to Stirling on the Thursday following, being the 30th April. On "the fourth day thereafter," as appears from this paper, and on a Monday, as appears from No. III. he was put on his trial and executed. It was therefore on Monday, the 4th May, 1584. In confirmation of these calculations it may be mentioned that Easter Day fell in that year on the 19th April.

And these  
word<sup>s</sup> he spake  
w<sup>th</sup> an assured  
modestie.

nor a disturber of the coñonwelth, bringinge both the Kinge & his country in hazard, yet am I as nere in sibnes,<sup>a</sup> & hath done better and oftener service to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, then he who thirsts for my blood by this cowardly revenge. Wolde to God, yf this case were to be debated betwixt me & my malicious adversarie, bodie for bodie!" "Be pacient, my Lord," saith the Judge. He answered, "I do not speake this of anie malice, but of intent to declare my iñocent life, w<sup>ch</sup> is most injustlie pursued." "My Lord," said the Judge, "you shall heare the rest of the accusation; answer shortly & w<sup>th</sup> pacience. Whome will you have ploquitor for you?" Th' other said, "I se none except my Lord Advocat, who will excuse himselfe for that he is to accuse me. It is very hard for me, not beinge acquainted w<sup>th</sup> the forme of lawe, to dispute of my life w<sup>th</sup> suche an experimented & practised lawyer, the tyme beinge so short & so sodaine; yet, Justice Clarke, I ptest by this instrument, thoughe you be under the bondage and yoke of the court, wright my answers attendickly;<sup>b</sup> & if ther be no formalitie in them, esteeme, my Lordē, the same to pcede rather throughe the lacke of experience & practise of the lawes, then from the weacknes of my cause. So then, I say, that I shoulde not be accused, because it is a common practise, that whosoever is to be accused is to be summoned, yf uppon hie treason, uppon fortie dayes, yf uppon anie other crime, uppon fiftene, but so it is that I was first arrested or ever soñoned." The Advocat said, "Th' answer was not sufficient, for a thefe taken jntly stealinge may be accused w<sup>th</sup>out suñoninge, muche more therfore in y<sup>e</sup> cause." The question was referred to the Judge and his assessioners, w<sup>ch</sup> they fownd not relevant the answer my Lord made. Then y<sup>e</sup> Clarke proceded, "You are further to be accused, for the coñoninge and conferring w<sup>th</sup> Mr. David Hume, & Mr. James Estringe, s<sup>v</sup>antē to th'Erls of Angus & Marre, under night, wher, after long conference, you devised for the better bringinge of yo<sup>r</sup> treasonable purpose to pase effect, it was necessarie the towne of St Johnstone & Sterlinge should be taken, or eyther of them both." Th' Erle replied, "My L. I see I am to be accused of these hedes w<sup>ch</sup> I reveled uppon hope of my life, upon the K. Ma<sup>ties</sup> pmise, yea by necessitie, for when you my Lordē (naming them all by ther names) came to me, desiringe me to tell the truth in this cause, I said, I was not so beastlie as to pen my owen accusation; you answered, that by this the Kinge Ma<sup>ty</sup> should the more be offended, & have the juster cause of wrath against me, yet for the tyme you could not otherwise pswade me, till at the last you said, it stod not w<sup>th</sup> the Kinge honor to capitulate w<sup>th</sup> his subjectē by writhinge. You left me then, and after came to me, & sware uppon yo<sup>r</sup> honors & faith, that the Kinge sware unto you, that he graunted me my life if I would diselosē those doingē wherof I should be asked. I did yeld upon this promise, & did wright thes thingē wherof I am to be accused; therfore this matter, w<sup>ch</sup> I wrought by necessitie, should not be layd to my charge in respect of the K<sup>e</sup> pmise. The Advocat made contradiction to<sup>c</sup> this, and shewed that the Lordē and others whome he named had not power to pmise life to him. The other answered this: "When y<sup>e</sup> Kinge had promised unto them, w<sup>ch</sup> they avouched by ther oth unto me?" "Aske them then," saith the Advocat. They beinge inquired, denied suche pmise was made by the K. to them, or by them to him. He answered, "You will not say so, my Lordē; for upon yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup>s you swarre to me. I refer it to yo<sup>r</sup> othes, I am suer you will not denie it." They sware it was not so. Then said

<sup>a</sup> Relationship.

<sup>b</sup> Authentically.

<sup>c</sup> Tho, in MS.

my Lord, "This is a strainge matter, that neyther law nor pmise can availe: yet, my Lord, I speak to you all, might it please you to goe to the Kinge to knowe his minde towardē me." They after consultacon refused to goe. The Clarke after pceded, askinge first, what answer made he to the last accusation. He said, "I denie it all, for I knowe not Mr. David Hume." "Ye are further to be accused, for directing yo<sup>r</sup> s<sup>r</sup>vant Mr. Patrik Whitlow w<sup>t</sup> the letters of Angus, who cam to you to Dundee w<sup>t</sup> fres from him, craving yo<sup>r</sup> assistāce in this entrepryce." "I answer, that I diswadid them, and shewed to them that they wold be no mo then they brought w<sup>th</sup> them at the first. And yet whie is it nott best, & lawfull, to the nobilitie to assemble themselves, seinge both their landes & life put at bey them w<sup>ch</sup> are gredie of both, to make som articlis for ther safetie, and make narration of them to the Kinge. They are in no worse case then burgeses."

The Clerke pceded, "You are to be accused, for the kepinge of your house in most willfull manner, three howers afther the sight of the Ke cōmission." His aunswer was, that the ptcular commission, written and devised by his ennemie, was not of suche sufficient force to derogat the lfe of ptection w<sup>ch</sup> he had under the King's great seale, and yet, notw<sup>th</sup>standing, I obeyed it, and I had bin away longe before yf David Murrey, who was directed by the Kinge to stay the shipp whill the shipper fownde caution under the peine of ten thousand pounds that he showld not land me eyther in England, Ireland, or Scotland, so that when the wind was faire I was stayed, and when it was out of the way I was apprehended.

Then the Clark pceded, "*Item*, You are accused, for concelinge the treasonable conspiracie, devised as you confes against the King and Quene his most dearest mother, for both ther distructions." "I answer, That y<sup>e</sup> concelinge is no treason, but the revealingge a benefit. It concerns no man nor pson in this country."

"Last of all, you are accused of w<sup>ch</sup>craft, and conferringe w<sup>t</sup> one Macklene, a sorcerer." He answered smylinly, "What! I thinke you meane not to mow<sup>b</sup> w<sup>t</sup> me. It is knowen I served my God, and feared him. This is no just accusation, but a malicious slander, and I knowe by whome devised; but since it is laid to my charge, I will tell you the truthe in this matter. Ther cam to me a teñnte of mine dwelling besidē Dunkell, who spake w<sup>th</sup> a woman, askinge him how did her L. 'Well,' saith he; 'No, no!' saith shee; 'ther is som evell don to him not longe since, w<sup>ch</sup> is, that the King's favo<sup>r</sup> is written from him.' 'By whom?' said he. 'By the ladie of Arraine,' said the other; 'and yet, if he will have remedie for it, it may be done.' The servant shewing me this, I refused plainly, and if the woman were here surelie I should be more willinge she were burnt then anie other. Yf there be anie witches, or witchcraft, I thinke it be nerer the court."

The Jurie being called, everie one bie ther names, suche as Huntley, whom he refused throughe his nonage, Argile, Craufourth,<sup>c</sup> Arrayne, Montrosse, Eglington, Glincarne, Marschall, Lords Oglebie, Salton, M<sup>r</sup> of Elphingstone, & the E. of Tillibane, everie one giving their othes severally that they gave no counceill to the Kinges Advocat to accuse him. Then it befell that th<sup>e</sup> Erle of Arraine should speake, who, rising upon his fete, said,—"Thoughe yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup> thinke the name of a suddert infamous, yet it is not so. I thinke it a great praise that I have bin one. As for that

<sup>a</sup> Divide, in MS.<sup>b</sup> Nowes, in MS.<sup>c</sup> Cranforth, in MS.



commission which was written to apprehend you, I confesse I wrote it at my M<sup>r</sup>. his desire; for his Ma<sup>ty</sup> estimatinge more of me then of the coñon sorte, and reposinge greter trust, he employed me to wright this commission for divers respecte.

“I confesse, my L., my father’s house hathe bene beholdinge to you, yet I speacke in the face of God, that I loved you better then myselfe, for when you hade<sup>a</sup> to do against my L. Olephante,<sup>b</sup> I so far advanced yo<sup>r</sup> cause, that I did conterfect the Kings hand-writtinge;” so, after this declaracōn, he gave his othe he counselled not the Advocate to accuse him.

The Clark redinge over these six articles (of fower wherof he was condempned, viz. the 2, 3, 4, 5,) the LL<sup>s</sup> whent to the inner howse, but, at their risinge, the Erle was spoken unto by the Erle of Gowrie, who desired him to remember of former<sup>c</sup> years. The other answered, The cause was not alike; for he cam not to his howse as traitor, “althog, my L., you be accused of treason, & my life was sene<sup>d</sup> or ever you sawe me;”<sup>e</sup> so that openly th’ Erle of Arrayne denied his request; wherat th’ other smiled, & sat downe, & called for drinke, & takinge the cup dranke to sundry, did shake hands w<sup>th</sup> others. In the meane tyme, I hard him speake, beinge behind his back, to a gent desiring him to coñmend him to his wife, & to conceale his death from her, requestinge, also, that his frende might comfort her, & put her in good hope of his life till she wer stronger in bodie, for she was even at this instant weakned throughe the deliverie of his cheild. The Jury reentringe condemned him of 4 pointe. He never chaunged his countenance; spake these worde followinge, but ere he began, beinge interrupted a little by the Judge, who said to him,—“My L. the King’s Ma<sup>ty</sup> hath sent downe his [warrant] for th’ execution of justice.” “Well, my Lordes, since it is the Kings contentm<sup>t</sup> that I lost my life, I am as willing now to do it, as I was before so oft to hazard it to do him service; & the noble men who hath bine uppon my life will know the matter better hereafter. And yet, in condemninge me to die, the have hazarded ther owen soles, for I had ther pñise. God [grant] that my blod be not uppon the Kings hed. I care not to live longer, for now shall I be fre from the meseries of this world, & from the fiery affaires of this court, wherof I wold have acquieted myselfe longe since if I could. The longer that I live, I shalbe involved & inwrapped in the greter care. My Lorde Judge, since these are but smale owersighte wheruppon I am condemned, I pray you, so would I desier you, not to make the matter so haynous as to punishe it by the penaltie of forfatric. My sons are in my lande manie yeres since, and have all their rights confirmed by the Kinge, & faylinge th’ eldest, the second is to succede, & is assigned to all my cawses.” The Judge excused himselfe, for that he was condemned of treason, so he was compelled to prononce the ordinarie sentence, w<sup>ch</sup> beinge pñounced in this forme, in respect of thes tymes:

“Wheras W<sup>m</sup> Earle of Gowrie is conviete, it is given for dome that he shalbe taken to the m<sup>k</sup>et place of this broughe,<sup>f</sup> & ther his hed stricken from his showlders.”

Th’ Erle spake these words,—“I pray God my blood may satiate & extinguishe the bloodie rage and ire of the courteor<sup>s</sup>, & bringe this country to quietnes:” so givinge a farwell, both by the shakinge of his hande w<sup>th</sup> manie about him, and by oplifting of his hart, bad them all adew,

<sup>a</sup> Haue, in MS.

<sup>b</sup> For the circumstances of Gowrie’s quarrel with Lord Oliphant see Calderwood, iii. 479, ed. Wodrow.

<sup>c</sup> Forreu, in MS.

<sup>d</sup> Sain, safe.

<sup>e</sup> My, in MS.

<sup>f</sup> Trough, in MS.

& called for the minister, from whome he deputed to a chamber to his privat prayers, & returned theraffter, beinge conveyed to the schaffeld by his kep<sup>r</sup>. The scaffeld, by his apointm<sup>t</sup>, was covered w<sup>th</sup> linin cloth, then sand, next cloth, then scarleth, and beinge there, he addressed his speache to the people, his cloke about him, sayinge, “Bretheren, this spectacle is more comon then pleasant to you. I am to die this night, for so it is the Kings pleasure; but I shall never aske mercie for anie thinge that ever I thought against him, and the Lord is witnes that I was mor carfull of his welfare then of my owne, my wives, and childrens. I have forgotten somethinge w<sup>ch</sup> I purposed to speake. It was bruted that I should have spoken against many noble-men, & should have beene their aecuser; but, brethren, credit not that, & let no more be spoken of me, after my death, then I have confessed now. I have accused none, neyther knowes of other except them who hath taken the tyme upon them.” So ended his words, and loseing his brest addrest himself to death, as all the world may wittnes, without feare, yet with a greate humilitey, as is said. His head was stricken off. It was kept in the scarlet, and his bodie, w<sup>ch</sup> was hastelye carryed from the scaffold, and sowed to his showlders before he was buried.

## No. III.

MS. Cotton. Caligula C. viii. fol. 28.

The manner and forme of the examinatione and death of umq<sup>a</sup> a Williame Erlle of Goury, lord Rutlien and Dirltoun, great Thessurer of Scotland, the 3<sup>b</sup> of May, 1584.

Being upone the Thursday brought frome Kinneill to Stirling, he stayed before he was brought to judgment three dayes, havng conference with sonndry depute be his Ma<sup>tie</sup> to confer with him. Upone the Monenday, very erlie, he was convyed to the Lady Marrs housse, and after the repare of the Judg and nobliemen who were upon his asyse, the Clerk proceedid to the proces in this maner, “Williame Erll of Gawry, yow ar indyted of tresonne, treteruslie comitted against his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, notw<sup>t</sup>standing the innumerablie honorus yow have receeved off his highnes, as be the augmentatione off your rent, and also in challenging to be of his Magistyes blood, is manifest, and lykways be the remissione off yowr former tresonne, when ye deteaned his Magisties pson in your hous of Ruthene, yet notw<sup>t</sup>standing of all this, yow have entred in more dangerus and deeper tresonnes sensyne.” The Clerk having ended, he answered. “Forasmiklie as be his Ma<sup>tie</sup> licence I was to dept out of this countrie, and resting to Dundie to dept, I entered in shipp, as the balzeis<sup>c</sup> and publik notars of Dundie cane record; but the vind being not in the vay, I steyed. In the meane tyme was I assyled be a privat eomissione procured be my adversarie, vritin be his ovin hand, I having his Ma<sup>tie</sup> letter of protectione under the great seall. But now to answe: as for the raid of Ruthen, I had remissione for it, and God is my vitnes, it was never mened against his estait, psonne, or autoratie. As touching the honors that I have receeved of his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, yow know what service I have done in his

<sup>a</sup> Umquwhile, the late.<sup>b</sup> See note <sup>c</sup>, page 144.<sup>c</sup> Baillies.

minoratie. As in chanaling to be of [his] blood, trewlie, albeit I be not a Steward, nor a discever of this countrie, bringing nather the King nor his comonevell in hazerd, yet am I als neir in sibnes, and hath donne better and ofter service thene he who thrists for my blood be this couerdlik revenge. Would to God this wer to be debated betwix me and my malicious adverssar, bodie for bodie." "Be patient," sayeth the Judge. The Erll said, "My Lord, I speak not this of my malice, but of my intent to defend my inocent lyf, which is uniustlie sought fore." "My Lord," sayeth the Judge, "yow sall heir the rest of the accusatione; answeere shortlie, and derectie. Whome will yowr L. have protector for yow?" The Erll replied, "I se none heir except the Advocat, who will exceus himself, for he is to accuse me. It [is] very hard for me, not being accūted with the feir of the law, to dispute my lyff w<sup>th</sup> ane experemented and practysed advocat, the tyme being so short and sudden; yet, Justice-Clerk, I protest be this instrument, thought yow be under the bound and yoke of the court, that my answeres be wreaten all atentielie, and yf they be informall extern [judge] it rather to have procedit from the lack of experience and practyse of the law, then from the weaknes of my cause.

"Then, I say, I shuld not bene accused this day, because whosoever is to be accused of any cryme is to be sommondet, yll for tresonne upone fourtie days, yf for any other cryme upone fyftene. But it is so w<sup>th</sup> me, that first I was aprehendet, and now accused before ever I was sommondet." The Advocat replied that the answer was not revelant, for a theif stelling ridhand and *actu ipso* may be taken without sumōde, meikill mair he in tresonne when he is with ridhand of the cryme." The questione was referred to the Judg, Mr. Jhone Gryme, and his assesionare, the M<sup>r</sup> of Levystonn, the Lard of Lochinwar, the Lard of Airth, who said it was not sufficient which my Lord hade answered.

Thene they proceedit, "Ye ar to be accused for the inſeoming w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> David Home and M<sup>r</sup> James Eskin, servantes to the Erll of Angus and Marr, und<sup>r</sup> nyght, wher ye devysed, for the bet<sup>r</sup> bringing your tresone to pass, it was most necessare that ather the toune of Sanct Johnstonne or Sterling shuld be takene, or both." "My Lord," said he, "I am to be accused for these thinge, which I rewelled upone houpe of my lyf, and for the King's Ma<sup>ties</sup> promiseis; for ye, my Lords of Montroes, Arran, Sir Jhone Maitlād, Sir Robert Melvin, the Colnell and the Captane of Dunbartone, came to me very oft and urget me w<sup>th</sup> the declaratione of the truth in this matter. My answeere was to yow, that I was not so bastlye as to pane my awin accusatione, nather woute I. Ye replied, that be this meane the King shuld be ofended, and have the just cause of wrath against me, but for that tyme other ways ye could not psuad me to doe; at last yow come unto me shewing me that it stood not w<sup>th</sup> his Ma<sup>ties</sup> honor to capitulat w<sup>th</sup> me, his subject, he writ; ye left me, and thene come agane, and suere unto me that the King's Ma<sup>t</sup> suare unto you, that he haide granted me my lyfe, yf I would disclose the truth of these thinge wheirof I was to be demandet off. I yeilded unto the confession, and wreat all these pointes wherof I see my selffe now accused. Therefore this ma<sup>t</sup> should not be laid to my charg in the respect of the promiseis." The Advocat said, it was not in the noblie mēs powar to pmes lyf. "Yea," sayd he, "the King pmissid unto thē, which they awoued unto me, be ther oath." "Ask them," sayes the Advocat. He inquired of theme, they denyed that such promiseis was maid be the King to them, or by them to his L. "What! my Lordē, ye will not say so! Ye maid fayth to me



be yowr ho<sup>r</sup>, otheways. I refare it to yowr oth and conscience. I ame asurred ye will not deny it." They sure it was not so. "This is a strange ma<sup>l</sup>," say my Lord, "that nather p<sup>m</sup>is nor lawe awaill; yit my Lord<sup>e</sup>, I dereet my spech unto yow all, I pray yow [go] to the Kyg to knew his mynd toward<sup>e</sup> me;" which they refused. Aft<sup>r</sup> consultatione then he prest every on severallie, and the Erll of Arrā himself; he could not prewaill.

Then the Clerk proceidit, accusing him that he [had] conferanee with the Erll of Angus servant, the 7 of Apryll, to whome he sent lykways his speciall depend M<sup>r</sup> Patrik Whytlaw; the end and some was to troblie the cuntrie. "I deny it, yea I disuadit him, for I said, I knew they would bring no moe thene they woud doe at the first instant; and yet, why is it not lawfull that the noble mē may asēblie themselves where they [will], seing ther lyf and lands put at by them who ar gredie of both, alswell as the burgasis? They ar in no worse cace thē they." They accused him to have kept his hous in most feirfull and wairfull manner, thrie houres aft<sup>r</sup> the sight of the King<sup>e</sup> comissione. "My Lord," said he, "I thoth that a p<sup>t</sup>icular wretting p<sup>e</sup>cured and written by my enemy, was not of sufficient fors to derogat to the let<sup>t</sup> of p<sup>t</sup>ectione and the Kings great seall, and yet I obeyed. I hade bene long away before yf I had not bene stayed be the King, who directed one ouer to cause the skipper found suertyes, under pane of ten thousand £., that he should not land ather in England, Irland, or Scotland, wich he could not doe, so when the wind was faire I was stayed, and when I could not mak saile I was apprehendit." The clerk p<sup>e</sup>cceeding to the fyft point, accuſyng him for concealing the tresonable conspiraci, as he confesed himself, devysed against the Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup> and the Quene his most darest mother, for the distructione of theme both, his answer was with this distinctione, "The concealing of it is no tresonne. but the revealing a benifeit, and it concernes no noble mā nor uther psone in this countre."

"Item, yow ar accused for wichcraft in cōfering w<sup>th</sup> sorsorere<sup>r</sup>." His answer was, that he thought they mened not to mew w<sup>th</sup> him, and sehawin lykwyse, that it was well known how he served his God. "This is no just accusatione, but a malicious sland<sup>r</sup>, and I knew be whome devysed. I will tell yow the truth. There come to me a tenād of myñ, dwellyng by Dunkell, who speak with a womane asking him how I did, he answered, 'Well.' 'No,' says she, 'ther is some ill fallen to him that he knows not. The Kings fauor is withdrawen frome him, and be the ladie of Arrā; and yet the[r] may be remaid for it, yff my Lord list;' which I refused. Iff the womā war heir, I would be cōtēt she wer brēt, and I would be the first would cōfes to it. Yff ther be any wichcraft used, I thȳk it be more neir the court." The sys beȳg called, and ther naēs read, sic as the erll of Hūtlie, whom he excepted, because he was und<sup>d</sup> xxv year<sup>e</sup>, Ardgyll, Crafourd, Arrā, Montroes, Eglintone, Glancarne, Marchall, Doun, Saltoun, Ogilbye, [a blank] M<sup>r</sup> of Alplingstone, and the Lard of Tillieberne, he desyred thē to purg them selfs by oth, that they gave no p<sup>t</sup>iculare advyce or cōfirmatiō to the Kings advocat to accuse him. Every one sware severallie they did not so; thē it befell the erll of Arrā to speak: "Though yo<sup>r</sup> L. think the name of a sudēt infamous, yet I think it great glorie to have bene on. I cōfes, man, ye have bene a good frend to my fathers house, but in p<sup>t</sup>icular frendship I have bene as greatfull as ye have bene. I speak in presence of the grypt God. I loved yow alswell as my owin saull, and ye knew when ye [had] to do against the lord Oliphāt, how I cōfited the Kings handwreit for the advancemēt of your cause. As for the wreatig off that cōmmissione to apprehend yow, I will not

deny it, seing it was donne be my maist<sup>r</sup>s desyr; for his Ma<sup>tie</sup> estemȳg mor of me then of the cōmone sort, & reposȳg more fidelitie in me nor in them, he imployed me in that point, and hov thinks that I have done mor thene my dutie in this, I am to mātaine the cōtrary, both he deide of hande & word." So aft<sup>r</sup> the purgin himself, [that] he informed not nor gave cōsell to the Kings advocat in his cōtrare, he was admited to go on his assysse, yet, before he arose to go to the inner chamber w<sup>th</sup> the rest of the jurie, the erll spak the erle of Arrā, desyrȳg he would remēber the good deed was done to him the last year in his house. The uther answered, It was not lawfull: "for, my lord, yow ar accused for tresonne, and I was no tretour: besydes, my lif was saif." The other smyled, and called for a drink at the syse depteur, wher I herd him, being behend him, request a gētillmā cause his frendē conceall his death frome his wyff, till sche were of mor strength, being weikned throught chyld last delyverie. The jurie reentring cōvicted him of four pointē, to the 2, 3, 4, and fyft, passȳg frome the first and last. His answer was, w<sup>t</sup> a smylling cōtināce, "My Lordē, I am willing to lesse my lyf to bring the King cōtētmēt, as I often before did hasord [it] to do him service, but the noble mē<sup>a</sup> who were upone my syse, in cōdemning me,<sup>b</sup> hasord ther awen saulls, & se that my blood be not upone the Kingē heid. The longer that I live I seuld ben involidd in the great[er] care, and wreiped in the more miseryes, and now fred from the fiere aferryes of the court, wherof I would [have] acqyted myself long syne, yf I could. I remit my advsars, and cōmit my reveng, to God. My Lord judg, the pointē wherof I ame cōdemned ar but small oversights, and so it will be knowin aftward, I pray you to mak not the mat<sup>r</sup> so haynous as to punishe it by the penaltie of forfaltrie. My sones ar in my landes, the second is cōfirmed in all his rightes be the King's Ma<sup>tie</sup>." The judg, excusing him self, because he was cōdemned of tresonne, so it behaved him to pronounce the ordinarie punishment, which beȳg pronūced, he said, "I pray God that my blood may satiat and astingish the yre of the courteoures, and set this cuntrie at quyetnes;" so kissing his hand to those that were about him, and recoñmending him to them all, called for the minist<sup>r</sup>, and wāt to his privat prayers, aft<sup>r</sup> to the scaffold, and place of executione; which was cowered with lynȳg cloth, then sand, next cloth, then scarlet. Aft<sup>r</sup> a letill pausing, he speak in this maner, "Bretherin, this specticlie is mor cōmion then plesant unto yow. I ame cōdemned to die, and God is my witnes, I never ofendet his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, neather do I ask Godē merci for any offence that ever I did against him, and the Lord cōdame me yf I was not mor cairfull of his welfare thene I was of my owin wyf and childrine." Then aft<sup>r</sup> his pryere, he adrest him to the pepill, saying, that he forgot som thing to speik to them; quhilk was, that they wer māȳ bruite spred of him, that he shuld be the accuser of many noble mē, he pryed them not to belave such fals lyes; he accused none, he knew of none, but such as hadd takene the fault upon theme:" so bade the pepill fairwell, and lowsed his butones, knit w<sup>th</sup> his own hande the handkurscher about his eyes, he disyred sir Robert Melvill to cōtent the hangmā for his clothes, and gave them to his page, so smynglie put his head und<sup>r</sup> the ax, and his body and blood, keiped in the scarlet, was put in the chest and cōveyed to his ludging. His head thereaft<sup>r</sup> set to his shuld<sup>r</sup>s, he was buryed besydē my Lord Schanslare, my lord Glames, in Sterling; borne be the secretarie, sir Robert Melling, the Justice Clerk, and sir Robert Stewartt of Traquhair, the third day after his execution to his buriell.

<sup>a</sup> But the noble mē, repeated in MS.<sup>b</sup> he, in MS.

I shall detain the Society with few remarks upon these papers. There are discrepancies between them, and it seems to me that they are of very different relative historical values. I see no reason to entertain any doubt of the substantial accuracy of the second and third. They are plain unvarnished narratives of incidents terrible in themselves and humiliating to human nature, but not inconsistent with the practices of the period, and borne out by many dark transactions in the legal annals of this country as well as of Scotland. The third abounds, also, in those little touches of minute observation which indicate infallibly that the writer was really present at the scenes which he describes ; and that not only at the trial, which he himself states, but also at the execution. For example, he tells us that Gowrie, when he addressed the people from the scaffold, was standing "with his cloak about him ;"—it will be remembered that it was eight o'clock in the evening of a spring day in a northern climate. Again, he mentions that there was "a little pausing" on the part of Gowrie, after he came on the scaffold, and before he began to speak ; and again, that "smilingly" he put his head under the axe. These and similar circumstantial details furnish, in a narrative of this kind, almost indisputable proof of actual presence, and afford a strong presumption against the supposition that any thing of importance escaped the notice of such a minute observer. In this respect there is a great dissimilarity between the first paper and the second and third. The former is totally deficient in that nice critical observation which is so obvious in the two latter, and especially in the third. Nor is the first paper free from other objections even of a more conclusive kind. The narrator tells us that Gowrie asserted the fact of the conversation between himself and Arran respecting the letter to the king, openly during his trial, and that when on the scaffold ready to suffer he recapitulated the circumstances before the whole people, "*in the self-same words* ye have heard it repeated." If so, how came a tale so extraordinary, and told with such singular minuteness, to escape the observant authors of the second and third papers ?

Again, according to paper No. I., the letter to the king was written in Edinburgh. But the letter is printed by Archbishop Spottiswood,<sup>a</sup> and is dated "the last of April." At that time Gowrie was in Stirling, where he was kept three days, "having conference with sundry depute by his majesty to confer with him."

Again. The fourth charge against Gowrie on his trial was, that according to his own confession contained in the questionable letter he had been party to a conspiracy, not only against the king but also against Queen Mary. The letter as printed by Spottiswood runs to the same effect. In the statements respecting the letter in

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Ch. Scotland, p. 331.



the paper No. I., there is no allusion whatever to any conspiracy against Queen Mary.

Again, it is represented in the paper No. I., that after all proofs had failed, Arran, then for the first time, brought forward the alleged letter as containing evidence of Gowrie's guilt, and that upon proof of the hand-writing of the letter the jury found him guilty. Everybody knows that such an incident is not in accordance with the ordinary course of legal proceedings. In Gowrie's case certainly the letter was not produced as an after-thought. Gowrie was distinctly charged in his indictment with the confession contained in that letter. The substance of the indictment may be seen in Spottiswood,<sup>a</sup> and the fact is so stated in the papers Nos. II. and III.

Many other reasons might be assigned for believing that the paper No. I. is not to be literally depended upon. One is sorry to strike out from the catalogue of our authorities anything which would tell so well in an historical narrative, and which Mr. Tytler has made to tell so well in his History of Scotland. But the pretended verbatim report will not stand the test of the slightest critical inquiry. I have no doubt that it was founded in fact. But the dramatic character which is given to it is a mere amplification, an imaginary dressing up, of some hearsay report of the statement made by Gowrie at his trial. It is to be feared that many of our most piquant historical narratives are of the same character.

But, throwing aside the disputable facts, those which I consider to be proved are as follows. That Gowrie was visited, when a prisoner, by Arran, accompanied by two of his brothers, (that is, by Colonel William Stewart, who arrested Gowrie at Dundee, and a Captain Stewart, who was keeper of Dumbarton,) and also by the Lord Montrose, Sir John Maitland of Lethington, and Sir Robert Melville. They endeavoured to persuade Gowrie to make a confession. He refused. They came again and again. There was speech between them about a pardon if Gowrie would confess. They remarked that it was not for the king's honour to capitulate by writing with a subject. Gowrie still held out. They came again and told him something as from the king, which Gowrie construed to be a solemn promise of pardon. He then narrated all the facts within his knowledge, and even wrote them down. His written paper is printed by Spottiswood. It revealed nothing of moment but what had previously been made manifest by the capture of Stirling. It involved no one, save the lords who had been openly parties to that action, and who had since found refuge in England. The probability seems to be that the promise of pardon was given. Gowrie's share in the conspiracy had evidently compromised his life. If he had been present at the outbreak nothing could have saved him but success or flight.

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Ch. Scotland, p. 332.

But his capture at Dundee before the outbreak rendered it difficult for his enemies to prove that he had been a party to the conspiracy. All the evidence upon the subject was with the lords who had escaped into England. It is scarcely to be conceived that, knowing this, Gowrie would have been so "beast-like,"—to use his own phrase—so devoid of reason, as to put his life into the hands of his enemies, without he had received some clear assurance that his confession was not to be taken advantage of. Looking at the pertinacity with which a confession was sought to be obtained, it is probable that the king and his advisers expected that some great secrets would have been revealed. Disappointed at the result, and suspicious that Gowrie, according to the Scottish phrase, "had not made a clean breast of it," these unscrupulous men may have deemed that Gowrie's suspected insincerity released them from their plighted word. In whatever way they glossed over the matter to their own consciences, one fact is plain, that all the charges against Gowrie upon which he was found guilty, except that of defending his lodgings at Dundee (for which alone his life would scarcely have been sacrificed), were founded upon the papers which were obtained from him. Without them, for anything that appears, he could not have been found guilty.

Here then we come round to the point from which we started. This was the trick which was practised upon Gowrie. He believed that he had been entrapped by a solemn promise of pardon from the king. He went to the scaffold in the assertion of the fact. He prayed that his blood might not be upon the head of the king, but he committed his revenge to God. In this faith he died, and in this faith no doubt his children were educated. Brought up in seclusion in the depths of the Highlands by their widowed mother—who was ill-used to a degree that is almost incredible—they would learn to view such a transaction harshly, and, not improbably, according to the retaliatory code of the rude Celts by whom they were surrounded. When they entered the world of Scottish politics, and approached the Court of James VI., they would see little, and hear little, respecting the character or the conduct of the king, which would tend to convince them that he was incapable of being party to such a deception. Smiled upon by Anne of Denmark, who had her favourites as well as the king, they would fall naturally into that party which thought worst and cared least about the king. The old feeling instilled in childhood would never be eradicated, and for my own part I can see nothing improbable but the contrary, nothing opposed to the truth of the Gowrie conspiracy but the reverse, in the supposition that, under such circumstances, and in the then existing condition of society, even after the lapse of sixteen years, "revenge for old Grey Steel's death" was one of the motives of the Gowrie conspirators.



XII.—*An Account of various Objects of Antiquity, found near Amiens, in France, in the Spring of 1848. In a Letter from Lord ALBERT CONYNGHAM to JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary.*

Read 16th November 1848.

DEAR MR. AKERMAN,

Illeden, Sept. 28, 1848.

I FORWARD herewith ten objects of antiquity, found some time since in France. They were discovered by labourers employed on the railroad near the town of Amiens, at a spot where other objects of the Gallo-Roman period were met with. The men came to a leaden coffin of great thickness, which contained two skeletons. By the side of the smaller skeleton, supposed to be that of a female, were the articles numbered one to seven. The three remaining articles; namely, the large bronze pin, the bronze fibula, and the bronze ring, were discovered, it is said, by the side of the larger skeleton.

All these objects (see Plate VII.) came into the possession of an individual who gave up the leaden coffin to the workmen, and were shortly afterwards purchased for me by a friend.

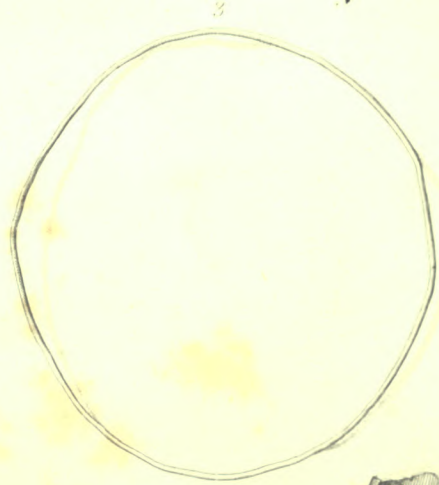
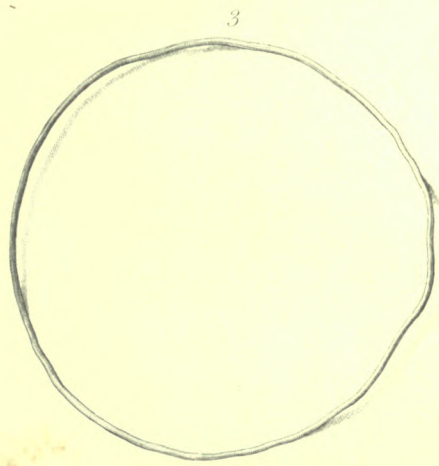
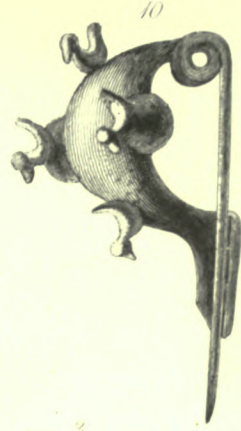
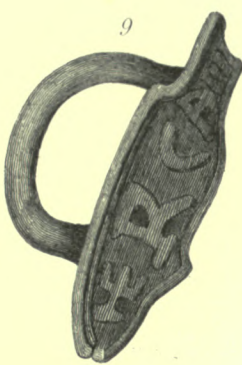
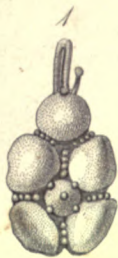
They may be enumerated as follows :

1. A pair of gold ear-rings.
2. A gold ring set with a cornelian, on which is rudely engraved a youthful figure riding on a goat.
3. A pair of slender gold wire armillæ, of the plainest form.
4. An elegant gold fibula.
5. A circular medallion of glass, on which is stamped a human head in profile. To this object a smaller ornament in gold is joined by a small gold ring.
6. A globular hollow ball of red earth, about two inches in diameter, dotted with small holes, and marked with lines, containing apparently flat seeds.
7. Fragments of three glass unguentaria.
8. A large bronze pin, the top of which appears to have been ornamented with a stone or vitrified paste.
9. A signet ring of bronze, the face in the form of a fish, within which are the letters **I-ERCRH**
10. A bronze fibula, ornamented with four birds resembling cocks.

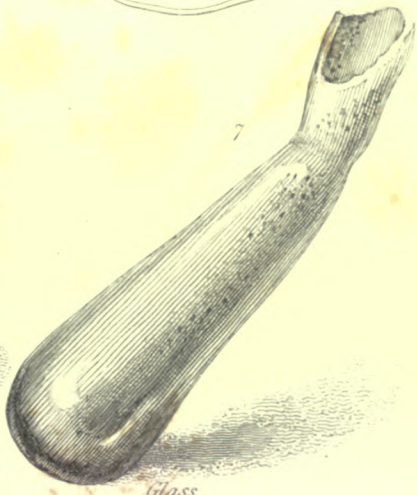
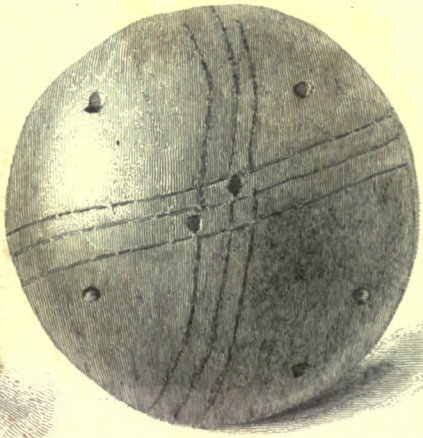
I remain, very sincerely yours,

ALBERT CONYNGHAM.





Glass



Glass

*Antiquities found near Amiens in France.*



XIII.—*Account of a Gold Torquis found in Needwood Forest in Staffordshire, in a Letter to the VISCOUNT MAHON, President, from SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. Secretary.*

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Read June 8th, 1848.

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MY LORD,

BY the kindness of George Edward Anson, Esq<sup>r</sup>. I am enabled to exhibit to our Society a Torquis of fine gold, picked up a few days ago in a Wood, belonging to the Queen as Duchess of Lancaster, in Needwood Forest in Staffordshire. A new Fox-earth had been made just at the place, and the Cubs appeared to have been sporting with the Torquis, which it is supposed they had dug up. It was found in its present state (see Plate VIII.) by the Keeper at the mouth of the hole.

The Torquis is said to be of Gaulish origin, at least the earliest mention of it in the Roman history is in the story of Manlius, in the year of Rome 394 (or 360 B. C.), who, having torn one of gold from the neck of a vanquished Gaul, placed it upon his own, and thence received the appellation of Torquatus.

Livy, at a little later period, in his thirty-sixth Book, tells us that Publius Cornelius in his triumph over the Boii, a people of Gaul, produced among other spoils no fewer than fourteen hundred and seventy Torques.

Subsequently, as is well known, the Torquis became a Present of military merit to the Roman soldier, whence the phrase “torquatus miles.”

Aulus Gellius, it will be remembered, in his *Noctes Atticæ*, describes Lucius Siccus Dentatus, who was called the Roman Achilles, as having received the Torques no fewer than eighty-three times.

The Romans had a Formula for the bestowal of the Torquis.

Torques of gold have been frequently found in England, Ireland, and Wales. Many of them may be Roman, but some of them are unquestionably British. Strabo, writing under Augustus, mentions this decoration as worn by the Britons; and Dion Cassius tells us that Boadicea wore a golden torquis, when she came to her last great conflict with the Romans.

Many collars of this kind, formed of a single wreath, have been exhibited in our Society's Room; but in form and character of workmanship this, belonging to Her



Majesty, is more curious and more splendid than any which have been shewn ; and singularly remarkable in the number of wreaths which compose it.

Its weight is 1 lb. 1 oz. 7 dwts. 10 grains ; or 5,590 grains.

Gough, in his edition of Camden's Britannia (I quote that of 1789, vol. ii. p. 380), mentions a Torquis also found in Staffordshire, which seems to have partaken much of the flexible character observable in this which has been found in Needwood Forest ; though, if the statement be correct, of much greater weight. He says,—

“ At Pattingham, the estate of the Earls of Chester and the Bassets, was found, 1700, a large Torquis of gold, 3 lb. 2 oz. weight, about two feet long, curiously twisted and wreathed, with two hooks at each end, cut even but not twisted. The metal was fine and bright, and so flexible that it would wrap round the hat or arm, and easily extend again to its own shape, which resembled the bow of a kettle.”

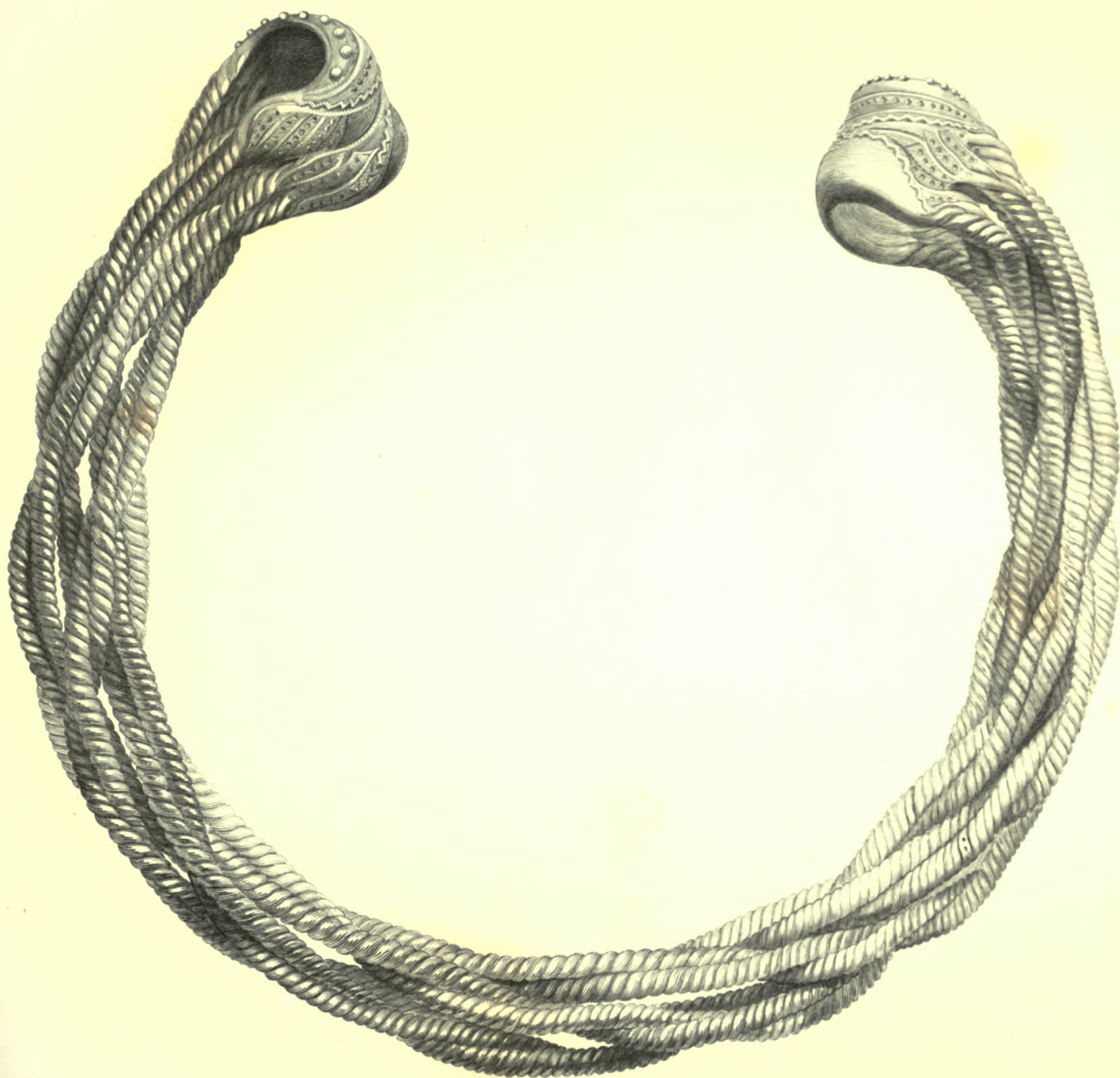
I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

*The VISCOUNT MAHON, President.*



*Gold Torquis belonging to Her Majesty, found in Needwood Forest. A.D. 1848.*





XIV.—*On the Condition of Britain from the descent of Cæsar to the coming of Claudius, accompanied by a Map of a portion of Britain in its ancient state, shewing the finding of Indigenous Coins.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq. F.S.A. Secretary.

Read May 3, 1849.

I PURPOSE, with the indulgence of the Society, to discuss an early chapter in the history of Britain; to examine the evidence we possess of the progress of civilisation among our primitive ancestors during the first half century of the Christian era, and thus to investigate the probable condition of this island previous to its becoming a Roman province.

I am well aware that I have entered upon a difficult task, not only from the utter absence of national records of the earlier period, but also from the paucity of monumental evidence. That the primitive Britons had no written history of their own may be safely inferred, since Cæsar tells us that the Gauls committed their chronicles to memory.<sup>a</sup> It is therefore in their monuments that traces of their history must be sought, and these unfortunately answer but a few of our inquiries. This, however, ought not to deter us from the consideration of a subject so interesting; the very scantiness of our materials for a history of ancient Britain should teach us to prize more highly, and study more attentively, the relics which time has spared.

To assert that the early history of our island, like that of most lands, is obscured by fable, and distorted by the historians of remote countries, is needless in these days of rational inquiry; and the antiquary may now safely express his doubts of the historical value of Geoffery of Monmouth's narration, and question the fact of the arrival of Brute in Britain.

What is the accredited history of Britain during the period to which our inquiry is especially limited?

According to Tacitus, Julius Cæsar obtained no permanent footing in the island.<sup>b</sup> His last descent must have struck terror into the Britons, and given them a vast idea of the Roman power; and the hostages which he received paved the way to the establishment of petty kings in the island. Of this, however, hereafter.

During the reign of Augustus, while Rome flourished, and civilisation advanced

<sup>a</sup> Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Vita Agricolaë, c. xiii.

in tributary provinces, Britain would appear, notwithstanding her insular position, to have imbibed foreign habits. While the liberties of Rome were gradually sapped by the most crafty of the emperors, a portion of Britain became more luxurious, and consequently less bellicose. This we learn from Tacitus. "The Britons," he observes, "have more ferocity than the Gauls, not having been softened by a long peace." He then bears testimony to the valour of the Gauls until they lost their liberty. "*The same change*," he adds, "has taken place among the Britons who have been brought under subjection; the rest remain as the Gauls formerly were—*ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.*"<sup>a</sup>

Tiberius, wallowing in luxury and vice, appears to have disregarded the province altogether, and Caligula followed his example, though some suppose that the failure of the German expedition discouraged any attempt upon Britain, and that he at one time seriously purposed visiting the province. One fact may be deduced from the contemplated visit, namely, that the Britons were growing uneasy under the Roman taxation. In the next reign an intestine commotion led to an important event, and a British prince, flying to the court of Claudius, induced that emperor to send Plantius with an army into Britain, which, for the first time, was reduced to a Roman province.<sup>b</sup>

We shall presently have to consider who this British prince was, and in what part of Britain he ruled.

We have no evidence, monumental or historical, that the Britons had advanced greatly in civilisation before the landing of Cæsar. That event evidently led to a change in the island, which paved the way to the introduction of foreign manners and the creation of new wants, all tending to the subversion of their national independence.

This belief is founded on the account which Tacitus gives in his admirable description of the Germans, who, he states, were less civilised than the Gauls; a fact easily to be accounted for. The establishment of the colony of Greeks at Massilia, 600 years B.C., the polished manners of whose inhabitants have been eulogised by Tacitus,<sup>c</sup> must have had a civilising influence upon that region of Gallia, and it is clearly from this quarter that improvement advanced and spread over western Europe. We learn also the condition of the German tribes in the Annals of the same admirable historian. The description which Germanicus gives his soldiers of

<sup>a</sup> Vita Agricolaë, c. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Dion. Cassius, lib. lx. p. 677, ed. 1606; Sueton. in Claud. c. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Vita Agricolaë, c. 4.

the arms and appointments of the barbarians, would apply perhaps still more closely to the inhabitants of Britain.<sup>a</sup>

Now it is certainly not within the bounds of probability that the rude inhabitants of a sea-girt island would, at this early period, be in a more advanced stage of refinement than the inland tribes of Germany, whose geographical position laid them open to civilised contact, and whose young men, according to the testimony of the historian above cited, perfected themselves in the art of war among other nations.<sup>b</sup> Antiquaries and historians have spoken of the intercourse between Britain and the Continent as subsisting from the earliest period, but they appear to me to have assigned too much importance to it. That there was an early intercourse cannot be denied; but it must have been limited and restricted. The Island must have been inaccessible during many months of the year, and generally approachable only in fine weather. It should be remembered that the Celts were not a maritime race, and that the Romans, at a much later period, contemplated with uneasiness a voyage to Britain. We read in Tacitus how Titus, after sailing along the coast of the Mediterranean for some time, pushed out boldly to sea—*audentioribus spatiis*—and made for the island of Cyprus;<sup>c</sup> nor should it be forgotten that three hundred years afterwards, when Constantius Chlorus set sail from Boulogne with a side wind, with the armament raised to overthrow the power of Carausius, the boldness of the Roman prince was lauded by the panegyrist as something novel in the annals of Roman daring!<sup>d</sup> So that, unless we can persuade ourselves that the Celts were more fearless navigators than the Romans, we may justly question the fact of a very familiar and constant intercourse between Britain and the Continent before the Roman invasion. Cæsar, it is true, obtained some information, as he tells us, from the Gaulish merchants:<sup>e</sup> but his applying to such a source seems to show that Britain was not intimately known by the Gauls generally. Moreover, we learn from the same authority that even the Gaulish merchants were only acquainted with the British coasts, and knew nothing of the interior of the island.<sup>f</sup> The clannish feeling which existed and still exists among the Celtic races is unfriendly to the spread of civilization.

Leaving for a while the narrations of historians, let us briefly review the remains of the Celtic period. The stone circle, the tumulus, both chambered and of the simplest form,—the rude urn, with its artless ornament reminding us of that of the

<sup>a</sup> Compare the speech of Germanicus to his soldiers, in Tacitus, *Ann. lib. ii. c. 14*, with the same author's description of the Germans, *Germania, c. 4*.

<sup>b</sup> *Germania, c. xiv.*

<sup>c</sup> *Annales, lib. ii. c. 2.*

<sup>d</sup> Eumenius Paneg. in Constantino Cæs. *c. 14*.

<sup>e</sup> *Bell. Gall. lib. iv. c. 20.*

<sup>f</sup> *Bell. Gall. loco citato.*



islanders of the South Seas,—the celts and hammer-heads of flint,—are all the evidence we have of the condition of the *earliest* inhabitants of our island, if indeed they belong to the earliest period. These objects indicate a very primitive state of existence, and exhibit the condition of a people not yet emerged from barbarism.

The next stage, we know not at what interval, presents the celt formed of *bronze*, and cast in a mould. With these are sometimes found spear-heads cast in the same metal (evidently from some exotic model), and swords, the shape of which betrays the same origin. There is the express testimony of Cæsar that the Britons imported the metal of which these weapons and implements were made: “*ære utuntur importato*” are his words.<sup>a</sup>

Moulds for casting celts and also spear-heads have been found in England. Specimens have only recently been laid on the Society’s table.<sup>b</sup>

Here we appear to perceive the first evidence of civilized contact, or rather the evidence of *imitation*, for I think it will scarcely be maintained that these forms are other than exotic. It seems probable too that the *torqs* and *gorgets* may be identified with this subsequent period.

A late antiquary, his mind imbued with stories of Phœnician Ireland, called these swords “Punic-shaped swords.” He might with equal propriety have referred their prototype to Egypt.

I may here be permitted to observe that I am no believer in the stories of Phœnician Ireland. I should regard with the greatest interest the slightest monumental evidence that tended to establish such a fact; but I have never yet met with any relic which might, with the least show of probability, be referred to the Phœnicians or Carthaginians. The upholders of this theory seem to use the word “Phœnician” in a somewhat loose and unsatisfactory manner, as I shall here venture to show. Do they mean by “Phœnician” Tyrian or Carthaginian? because the foundations of *Tyrian* colonies on the shores of Spain are perfectly well distinguished from those founded by the *Carthaginians*. One illustration will be sufficient.



<sup>a</sup> Bell. Gall. lib. v. c. 12. The precise geographical distribution of the objects called “Celts” would be an interesting subject of antiquarian inquiry.

<sup>b</sup> Casts of moulds for forming celts may be seen in the Society’s museum.

Here are sketches of two coins: one of Gades, the modern Cadiz,—the other of Sex, the Almunecar of our days. On the testimony of Pliny, Strabo, and Stephanus Byzantinus, we shall find that Gades was founded by the Tyrians, and Sex and Malaca by the Carthaginians.<sup>a</sup>

Now, do the coins of these free colonies support the account of the historian? They do; and that in a manner so satisfactory that the veracity of the historical evidence is at once made clear and apparent. It will be observed that both these pieces bear the head of Hercules, and have the symbol of the tunny-fish, which was a source of great profit to those coasts. The letters or characters on the first coin are Phœnician, on the other we perceive the older, or Lybo-Phœnician form, found on the numerous coins of Mauritania. Without occupying the time of the Society with a minute comparison of the difference in these characters, I shall merely direct attention to the form of the first letter in each example, the equivalent of the Hebrew מ and our M.

I have ventured to linger for a moment with this episode, because it will, I trust, make it apparent that Coins, of all other monuments, are the least likely to lead us astray in our researches, while they contain the greatest amount of information within the most circumscribed space. When one fragment of monumental evidence, so minute, so comprehensive, and so satisfactory, shall be brought forward to prove the commerce of Carthage or Tyre with the shores of Hibernia, we may be encouraged to pursue the inquiry.

But to return from this digression. A word or two from Cæsar, as to the description of *sword* with which he found the Britons armed, would have been of considerable value to us in our researches; but, unfortunately, he is silent in this respect; and the description which Tacitus gives of the swords of the islanders, when defeated by Agricola in the north 130 years afterwards, cannot apply to the *bronze* weapons already alluded to. They are generally *short* and *taper to the point*, like those of the Greeks; but the swords of the Britons in the time of Domitian were, according to Tacitus, *large* and *blunt at the point*—"sine mucrone."<sup>b</sup> The fact, if such it may be considered, leaves us in considerable perplexity as to the kind of sword then in use by the Britons. Of one thing, however, we may almost be assured, that it was no longer of *bronze*, but of *iron*, yet differing from the shape of the Roman weapon. To what may this be attributed but to a feeling of nationality? Why did the Britons fail to adopt a weapon which experience had taught them was so formidable in the hands

<sup>a</sup> For Gades see Strabo, lib. iii.; Stephanus, v. Γαδεῖρα; Solinus, cap. xxiii. For Sex see Pliny, lib. iii. c. 1; Strabo, lib. iii. For Malaca see Plin. lib. iii. c. 1; Strabo, lib. iii. c. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Vita Agricolæ, c. 36.

of their enemies? If our conjecture be right, that some national peculiarity prompted the adoption of such a weapon, we may trace the same cause in the peculiar style of some of the well known *Polden Hill* ornaments, described in the *Archæologia*,<sup>a</sup> and now in the collection of the British Museum. In these ornaments we perceive a style which may reasonably be denominated *Romano-British*, for it will be needless to insist on its being neither Greek nor Roman. Nor do these objects bear any resemblance to the numerous examples of Anglo-Saxon remains discovered in this country during the last century. They suggest the handicraft of a people among whom civilisation had made great advances, but who were yet less Roman than the inhabitants of other parts of Britain.

These observations bring us at once to the consideration of the questions,—*What part of Britain was peculiarly under the dominion of the Romans?—And what districts were likely to have adopted Roman manners?* during the period to which our inquiry relates.

I now refer to a Map of Britain, on which are marked out the probable boundaries of the petty states in the southern parts of the island. The geography of ancient Britain will perhaps perplex to the end of time; but, failing of the precise lines of demarcation, we may arrive at something like an approximation.

Now what were the limits of the countries of the Cantii, the Regni, the Atrebatii, and the Belgæ? The question is best answered by the natural surface of the island in which they are placed. You will perceive in the chain of hills in the southern part of the island, popularly termed the Hog's Back, what may with much reason be supposed to be the natural boundaries or division of the countries of the Regni and the Cantii. This natural barrier divides the country longitudinally, running eastward nearly to Rye, and westward dividing the countries of the Atrebatii and the Belgæ.

Have we any *monumental* evidence of this division? None except a few Coins. These, however, are of the highest importance in our inquiry. In the division of *Britannia Prima*, assigned by the ancient geographers to the Regni, there have been found from time to time certain coins, the devices and inscriptions of which are of great interest to the English antiquary. The various places in which these coins have turned up are marked on the map, and it will be perceived that their finding has taken place in the very manner to prove the correctness of my attribution. They have been found as far westward as *Winchester* and its neighbourhood, and eastward as far as *Eastbourne*, while the other places marked on the map show that they are distributed north and south across the country of the Regni.<sup>b</sup>

On the other hand, there are found in Kent, and, be it observed, up to this time *in that*

<sup>a</sup> Vol. XIV. p. 90.

<sup>b</sup> See the localities marked red on the map, and numbered 10 to 18.



*county exclusively*, certain other coins inscribed EPILLVS COM. F. or EPP. COMI. F., &c. differing in type, but evidently issued by the authority of the same personage. Specimens have been dug up in the neighbourhood of Ash, near Sandwich, Bapchild, the Isle of Thanet, and near Maidstone. These discoveries are well authenticated, and at present are confined to the district of Kent lying between the Medway and the North Foreland. In the absence of better proof, I have ventured to assign to this district the coins inscribed REX CALLE. Of two of these in the collection of the British Museum, one reads on the reverse EPP. and I have ventured to interpret the entire legend REX CALLE EPILLI FILIVS. Unfortunately their place of finding is not known. If future discoveries should take place in Kent it will tend to strengthen this appropriation.

Again, we have the recorded and well authenticated discovery at Farley Heath of the coin inscribed VERIC. CO. F., and another derived from the same place, about the same time, inscribed MEPATI. This piece is exceedingly valuable on account of its bearing two additional letters to the one already known, a specimen in the collection in the British Museum bearing the letters EPAT only. I had always considered this piece as of British origin, although it is described by Combe (with others of unquestionable British fabric) among the coins of Gaulish chiefs; and this discovery of a second and more perfect specimen not only favours the appropriation, but helps us to the name,—whether of a prince, a people, or a town, we cannot yet decide; but, judging from analogy, it is that of a petty ruler in Britain.<sup>a</sup> One antiquary assigns it to Caractacus; but it is enough for us to know that he has, with a like indiscretion, given the coins inscribed REX. CALLE to *Calleva*, although we are yet in utter ignorance of the place of their finding. Correct appropriation can only be founded on the evidence of repeated discoveries; and, if this rule be not observed, the next generation of antiquaries will be employed in correcting the blunders of those who have preceded them. Who the personage was we have no means of ascertaining; but it is otherwise with the gold coin bearing VERIC. In this name, though evidently contracted, we cannot fail to recognise Bericus, the fugitive prince, who, on account of a sedition in the island, fled to the court of Claudius, and induced that emperor to send over an army under the command of Aulus Plautius;<sup>b</sup> an event which led to the annexation of Britain as a province of Rome, and, according to Gildas, the abolition of all other currency than that bearing the imperial effigies.<sup>c</sup> This mention of the suppression of all coins except those of Roman stamp, affords positive proof that there was already an indigenous currency in the island.

<sup>a</sup> See my *Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes*, p. 185, note 1.

<sup>b</sup> Dion Cassius, lib. lx. p. 677.

<sup>c</sup> P. 5.

I am led to this mode of illustration, not only by a desire to establish the truth, but also to vindicate certain attributions of my own. In the very beautiful and valuable work entitled "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*," printed by command of Her Majesty, a copy of which has just been presented to the Society, the coins, of which drawings are now exhibited, are designedly omitted, the learned and excellent editor expressing his belief that their appropriation to Britain is doubtful! I submit it, however, to the good sense and intelligence of this Society whether we are not perfectly justified in assuming that coins found from time to time in particular districts, and in no others, are not likely to have been the currency of the petty state which comprised that district. It is needless to observe that the finding of a single example is not sufficient evidence for the formation of any reasonable hypothesis as to its origin; but, if similar pieces are discovered at considerable intervals, in the same tract of country, and in that tract exclusively, we are surely warranted in assigning their origin to that country. Such then is the case with the pieces inscribed *TINC. OR VIR REX. OR VIRI COM. F. &c.*, which have been discovered in Hampshire and Sussex only. Here are specimens found at Bognor, Rumsey, and Dunmore, between Basingstoke and Winchester. Other specimens reading *TINC. COM. F.* have been found at Winchester, Titchfield Downs, and at Alfreton, in Sussex.<sup>a</sup> *There is not an authenticated instance of coins of this character being found out of the counties of Hants and Sussex.* The probability that *VIRI* stands for *VIRIC*, and that the coin of Vericus already alluded to is identical with them, does not invalidate this proposed attribution, for, on reference to the map, it will be perceived that Albury is situated on a part of the Hog's Back, which divides the counties of Sussex and Surrey.

I have said nothing as yet of the coins found north of the Thames, and my notice of them shall be brief, because no one at this time disputes the attribution of some of them to Cunobeline; nor is it my intention to do more than notice *en passant* Mr. Birch's ingenious and to all appearance sound interpretation of the word *TASC* or *TASCIOVANVS*, so constantly occurring on them, which he with good reason supposes to be the name of the father of Cunobeline.<sup>b</sup> But it is important to us in our inquiry to know that coins of these princes are not found in the counties south of the Thames, but in a wide district, ranging from Camulodunum in Essex to the extreme west of Buckinghamshire, and northward nearly as far as Towcester.

There are other coins found in the district, but as they appear to me scarcely

<sup>a</sup> See the places of finding marked *red* on the map. Since this was written another coin has been found at Bramber Castle.

<sup>b</sup> Num. Chron. vol. vii. p. 78.

to come within the period to which I have limited this inquiry, being perhaps connected with the history of a later struggle for independence, I leave them, and return to the consideration of those which it is my purpose to show are the currency of the then most civilised portion of the island.

I purpose, therefore, to consider, firstly, the evidence which we possess of these coins being of a British origin; secondly, the proofs of their dating *posterior* to the descent of Cæsar. Ruding—whose elaborate and excellent Annals are a history of the coinage solely, compiled with great diligence and accuracy from historical documents—had but slight practical knowledge of coins. It is not, therefore, surprising that he should, in his first three plates, have given us a promiscuous collection of Gaulish and British money. But those who have attentively studied each series will not be liable to fall into the same error; each have peculiar characteristics very susceptible of interpretation.<sup>a</sup> They will discover, in what are well known to be Gaulish coins, evidences of an imitated type, accommodated to the tastes and feelings of the imitators, until all but the leading features of the prototype are obliterated. Many of these pieces bear the androcephalous horse, yoked to a chariot, under which is sometimes placed a prostrate figure, a standard, or arms, while the charioteer holds aloft the *phalera* of the vanquished enemy.<sup>b</sup> *Nothing of this kind is found on ancient British coins*; it is a warlike type, the device of a people still in arms against the invader, and the coins are the currency of Gallia while yet unfettered.

If coins with the type of the androcephalous horse were often found in Britain we might claim for our primitive ancestors a mintage of their own previous to the Roman invasion. It has been urged, by those who would establish for these British coins a higher antiquity, that they are formed on the Greek model; but they appear to overlook an important fact, that many consular coins are convex and concave, and exceedingly dissimilar in fabric and style to the Roman money after the reign of Augustus, many of whose coins are evidently formed on the Greek model, and are the work of Greek artists. If we compare the denarius of the *Gens Marcia* with the equestrian figure on the reverse, with the coins inscribed *TINC.* or *VIRI.* we shall perceive as close a resemblance as may usually be traced between a well-executed model



<sup>a</sup> The unscientific arrangement of these coins by Ruding has planted an error which it will require many years to uproot. The editor of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* says some of these coins have been claimed by French numismatists as Gaulish. I have only to observe that there is no *rivalry* as to the claim among the *practically* informed numismatists of either country. These coins are for the most part perfectly well distinguished.

<sup>b</sup> See a Dissertation on the *Phalera* by M. de Longpérier, *Revue Numismatique*, tome xiii. p. 85; and the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xi. p. 149.



and a barbarous imitation. We find, moreover, the word *on a tablet*, a mode of inscription which French numismatists assure us is never found on Gaulish coins.

The coins for which I am now pleading, and which have been so unjustly excluded from the "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*," have no legend or device which could possibly give offence to the masters of the world. The horseman, or the horse at liberty, often appears; but we have no representation of an overthrow or a triumph,<sup>a</sup> a fact which furnishes conclusive evidence that the British coins were struck by princes tributary to the Roman power. Moreover, all the coins which are the special object of our inquiry *bear legends in Roman letters*.

Mr. Edward Hawkins, who takes a different view of the origin of these coins, has been at some pains to collate the well-known passage in *Cæsar* as to the British currency.<sup>b</sup> I can only give the result of his collations. "In the British Museum," he observes, "is a MS. of *Cæsar* of the 10th century, the reading of which is, 'Utuntur aut ære, aut nummo aureo, aut anulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo.'" In this reading several other MSS. concur. *Cæsar*, as usually given, is thus:—*utuntur aut ære, aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo*. Now, admitting that the passage in question has been corrupted, I humbly submit that the word *utuntur* does not give us positive evidence that the Britons had a coinage of *their own*. The Germans had none, if we may credit Tacitus, who says of them, "*pecuniam probant veterum et diu notam serratos bigatosque*."<sup>c</sup> Here is evidence of the adoption of a foreign currency, and it is just possible that the Britons, before the Roman invasion, used, though sparingly, the gold money circulating in Gaul. At any rate, the assumption of their having a gold currency of their own implies a higher degree of civilisation than we are warranted in believing existed in the island before the arrival of *Cæsar*. There are well-known gold coins, having a rude and degenerate type, and some of which are without any type on the convex side, which did probably circulate along the coast of Britain;<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> I beg the reader to believe that in describing this type as depicting a victory I had no idea of assuming that it alluded to any *special* overthrow. It obviously has a *general* signification, and typifies the indomitable spirit of the Gauls.

<sup>b</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 13.

<sup>c</sup> *Germania*, c. 5. This passage, which appears to have perplexed the earlier commentators, is now sufficiently comprehended. The coins which the Germans preferred were the still very common consular *denarii*, many of which are notched round the edges. Of this preference advantage was taken by the forgers of those days, and specimens of false *denarii*, formed of copper plated with silver, and notched round the edges, are of frequent occurrence in collections of consular coins.

<sup>d</sup> See *Ruding*, pl. 1, figs. 9 to 15.

but the fact, that, though pieces of this kind are sometimes found in Kent, they are much more frequently discovered in France, is fatal to the supposition that they are of British origin. It seems very probable that these coins are the very latest of repeated copies of the Macedonian Philippi, imitated by the Gauls, a very singular perversion of which exists in the well-known *Jersey type*, a designation given to coins almost exclusively found in the Channel Islands, of which an example is now exhibited.<sup>a</sup>

As regards other coins found exclusively in Britain, and exhibiting what are clearly degenerate types, I have, as already observed, purposely omitted them. One class, however, deserves a passing notice, namely, those inscribed *BOVDVOC.* and hitherto ascribed, without any reason whatever (for we previously knew nothing of their finding), to Boadicea. It seems very probable, however, that these pieces were not minted by Boadicea, although, from the degeneracy of the type, they may be as late as the days of that renowned female leader. All we know of them is, that no less than three specimens have been discovered in Gloucestershire, the country of the Dobuni, namely, at Birdlip, Rodmarton, and Beckford.<sup>b</sup> None of these coins are known to have been found out of this district.

What are the inferences to be drawn from the monumental and historical facts here brought together? Tacitus is again the light which gleams upon us in our researches as to the state of Britain during the period to which our inquiry has reference. From this authority we learn to comprehend the subtle policy of the Romans, whose craft was as profound as their thirst of conquest was insatiable. From Tacitus we learn that the rulers of the world were such perfect masters of the art of enslaving, that they employed even tributary kings as the instruments of servitude. He cites a remarkable instance of one Cogidunus who was living at the time he wrote. This satrap had territories assigned to him in Britain for his fidelity to the Romans.<sup>c</sup> We are therefore left to infer that, during the reign of Augustus, the most accessible districts of Britain were gradually drawn into the Roman toils by means of the tributary princes. I have ventured to suggest that the family of Comius, mentioned by Cæsar as a person of weight and authority in the island, assisted them in effecting this object, and I have therefore proposed to interpret part of the legends on most of the coins found in the south of England, *COM . F. Comii filius*. This has been objected to, on the ground that sons of Comius could

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. pl. 3, fig. 50 ; Numismatic Journal, vol. 1, pl. 1, fig. 12.

<sup>b</sup> See the localities marked with a *red circle* on the Map.

<sup>c</sup> Vita Agricolaë, c. 14.

not have ruled over a period of fifty years ; but, as the chronology of this important period cannot be exactly measured, and as we do not know that the Comius of Cæsar is the Comius of the coins, or whether indeed the name was not hereditary, either argument may be held until some further evidence shall be discovered. All I can say is, that, as these coins bear *Roman legends*, so does it appear that the legends are given in accordance with the Roman *formula* at this period. On this assumption, Mr. Birch has assigned the coins now attributed to Tasciovanus to the father of Cunobeline.

Again, in the Life of Agricola we are told that that general kept for a long time an Irish prince or chief in Britain under the pretence of friendship, in the hope of rendering him, if occasion served, subservient to the reduction of Hibernia—*specie amicitiae occasionem retinebat*.<sup>a</sup> It would appear, from the evidence of the same historian, that these petty princes became tyrannical and obnoxious to their countrymen ; insomuch that, in the time of Agricola, after the annexation of the island as a Roman province, the Britons complained that formerly they were subject to the exactions of their *kings* only ; but now they were cruelly oppressed by *two* authorities—the governor and the procurator,—*singulos sibi olim fuisse reges ; nunc binos imponi*,<sup>b</sup>—the one preyed on their lives, the other on their property. There appear just grounds for believing that the conduct of these petty princes, supported by the Romans, had rendered the title of *king* odious, for we know (and Tacitus is again our authority) that when Agricola took the command in Britain the inhabitants in arms were led by chiefs<sup>c</sup> who were at variance with each other ; their dissensions precipitating their ruin.

From these evidences my deductions are :—

First. That shortly after the Roman Invasion tributary kings ruled in Britain.

Second. That these kings, however constituted, were in the Roman interest, and that their rule was, for the most part, confined to the southern district of Britain.

Third. That there were perhaps three or four kings reigning collaterally in the south of Britain at one time.

Fourth. That while a portion was thus ruled by tributary kings, other districts of the island were in a state of comparative independence.

Fifth. That an attempt to render the provinces, north of the Thames, more subservient to the Roman power, succeeded only for a time, and that the death of Cunobeline was the signal of revolt, the abuse of that power having paved the way for an insurrection, which quickly extended to other provinces in the Roman interest.

<sup>a</sup> Vita Agricolæ, c. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. c. 15.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. c. 12.



Sixth. That Plautius found but feeble resistance in the districts south of the Thames on account of the Roman interest prevailing there ; and lastly,

Seventh. That the coming of Plautius led to the subjugation of Britain, and the suppression of hereditary rule in the island.

Such are the facts which I have attempted to deduce from a diligent comparison of monumental with historical evidence. That both are sometimes vague and inconclusive I am willing to admit ; but, viewed together, and weighed carefully, there is much which cannot fail to invite to the study all who are interested in the early history of Britain. At any rate, if these my facts and inferences should excite others to the consideration of a theme so curious, so fraught with interest to the antiquary, the historian, and the ethnologist, my labour will not have been misdirected.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.

#### NOTES ON THE MAP.

THE coins inscribed *CYNOBELINVS*, or more frequently with the letters *CYN*, are now by universal consent assigned to the prince who is called by Dion Cassius and by Suetonius, Cynobellinus or Cinobellinus. Many examples of his mintage are engraved in Ruding.<sup>a</sup> Those engraved in the Plate, and those numbered 1 to 7 on the Map, are placed there because the *finding* of these particular types is well authenticated. Others bear his name and various devices, some of which are clearly imitated from denarii of Augustus, but they are excluded from this selection on account of the places of their finding being unrecorded.

Coins 19, 20, 21, inscribed *BODVOC*, have been found at intervals at Birdlip, at Rodmarton, and at Beekhampton, all in the county of Gloucester, the territory of the *Dobuni*. Two specimens exist in the collection of the British Museum, and there are two or three others in private cabinets, but their places of finding are not known.

The coin, No. 22, inscribed *COMVX*, is in the collection of the British Museum, and was found at Frome, in Somersetshire. It is placed next to the coins bearing *BODVOC*, in consequence of the similarity of workmanship, as well as from the circumstance of its being discovered in the same district of Britain.

The coins inscribed *VIRI. CO. F.* and *TINC. C. F.* are, as before observed, found in the counties of Sussex and Hants exclusively. Their places are marked in the Map *red*, and numbered 10 to 18.

The coins of Epillus, of whose mintage five examples are known, are marked on the Map *black*, and numbered 7, 8, 9. The finding of four of these pieces is well authenticated.

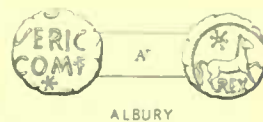
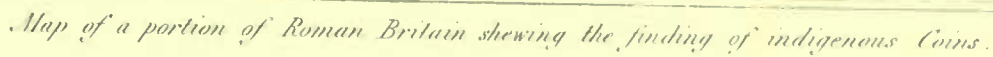
<sup>a</sup> See also Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes, Plates XXIII. and XXIV.

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that *all* the authenticated finds of British Coins are not noticed in this Map, the indications on which have reference to *inscribed* coins only. Various scattered notices of the finding of barbarous and uninscribed pieces will be found in the Numismatic Chronicle. There are also many pieces of a debased type, and partially inscribed, generally so rudely as to defy conjecture as to the signification of their ill-executed legends. On the precise epoch of the issue of these rude coins it would be difficult to pronounce; but it behoves the antiquary and the numismatist carefully to chronicle the circumstances of their finding, for it seems more than probable that even these uninscribed pieces, if this rule be observed, may in the course of time be assigned with tolerable certainty to particular districts of Britain.

I cannot close this note without adverting to a discovery near Aldborough in Yorkshire, a few years since, of a number of rudely executed gold coins with an unintelligible legend in *roman* letters. That these coins were found in that district there appears to be no doubt, but I have never been enabled to obtain any particulars, further than that there were mingled with them a few *consular denarii*.

J. Y. A.









XV.—*On the Charge of the ordinary and extraordinary Service of the English Navy in the middle of the reign of Queen Elizabeth ; with a Letter and Report from Sir John Hawkins to Sir Walter Mildmay, on the subject of the needless expenditure of public money in 1583. In a Letter from JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, Esq. Treasurer, to CAPTAIN SMYTH, Director.*

Read March 8th, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR,

Kensington, March 4, 1849.

THERE is no member of our Society to whom this brief letter could be more appropriately addressed than to yourself, not merely from the profession to which you are so honourably attached, but from the interest you must take in the subject, and the information you are so well qualified to supply. The latter, in my case, is peculiarly necessary, and if, on some future occasion, you shall be able to add any additional illustration, you will confer a favour not only upon me, who stand so much in need of it, but upon all Antiquaries, who cannot possibly be indifferent to the history of our Navy. My object is to bring the subject of the inclosed letter and report, by no less a man than Sir John Hawkins, into notice, in order that they may receive any explanation of which they are susceptible, and which I do not pretend to be in a condition to furnish.

They are the originals, sent through Sir Walter Mildmay, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the information of the Lord Treasurer and the Lord High Admiral in March 1583 ; and not only have they not been published, but I have not been able to meet with any hint of their existence. I mentioned them to my late friend, Sir Harris Nicolas, not long before he quitted England, and he had an opportunity of inspecting them : he admitted at once their importance in reference to the history of our Navy, but he died before he could make use of them.

In the biographies of Sir John Hawkins he is called "Treasurer of the Navy," but in the documents in question he speaks of the "Treasurer of Ships," and that may have been his more proper designation, unless there were two distinct offices, of nearly similar titles and duties ; he does not, however, state that he filled the situation of "Treasurer of Ships," and it is said that he became "Treasurer of the Navy" in 1573, ten years anterior to the date of his letter.

It appears that in 1583 he was busily engaged in making investigations for the reduction of the expense of the Navy, and he dates from Chatham on the 14th of

March in that year, where it seems he had, as might be expected, met with some obstructions to his inquiries from the officers there employed, and whose emoluments, very possibly, would be curtailed by a reduction of the national expenditure. For about fifteen months the interested parties had "taken hardiness and courage to oppose themselves against him;" but nevertheless he had prosecuted his investigations, and, by uniting what were called the ordinary and extraordinary services of the Navy together, he had managed to produce a saving of more than £3,000 a year, adding, at the same time, to the efficiency of the Queen's Fleets. Thus, as in not a few more modern instances, the public money was spared, while the service was improved.

The Report was inclosed by Sir John Hawkins in his Letter to Sir Walter Mildmay, and as it was the mere production of a clerk, I have not sent it for exhibition. The autograph of the veteran officer, however, accompanies this communication, as many of our Fellows may be curious to see the handwriting of a man so distinguished in his life, and so unfortunate in his death.

The circumstances of his decease are given in one of the recent publications of the Hakluyt Society; and I should have been most happy to have communicated to the editor the documents I now transmit, as a useful illustration of his interesting volume, had I been at all aware of his intention to print Maynarde's manuscript account of the voyage of Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake in 1595, in the course of which enterprise, as is very well known, both Commanders unfortunately perished.

I subjoin Copies of the two documents forming the subject of my present Letter, and remain,

My dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N.  
Director of the Soc. of Antiquaries.

"To the Ry<sup>t</sup> Honorable Sr Walter Myldmay, knyght, one of her maties privy counsell, gyve this—in hast, hast, hast, for her maties service.

"Syns I wrote unto your Honour I have had many occasyons to busye my sellfe; for syns Christmas was twellfve monthe, that the offycers have taken coorage and hardynes to oppose them sellves agaynst me, dyvers matters have byne omyttyd, delayed, and hynderyd by many subtyle practyses, which now, with some travayle



and dyllygence, I mynd, with God's favour, to put in order, and I hope will not requyre above xv dayes of my presence.

"I have brefflye, as my layser wold, seryblyd out a note of the joynnyng of thordynary & extraordinary together, which I send your honour to peruse, and at your good pleasure and layser to consyder whyther the same booke hathe suffieyent order to be presentyd to my Lord Tresorer and my Lord Admyrall; and yf your honour shall have lykyng of yt, I wyll sett the same in order and present yt, for yt shall not only end all objections, make a saffe, a sure, and proffyttable service, but declare that there is 3231<sup>li</sup> charge yeerly sparyd of the expence in tyme past.

"The thowsand pownd, which ys to be sparyd yeerly for supplyes, I do not speke of, for that yt ys another matter, which I wyll speke of heerafter.

"Some body from me shall attend upon your honour for your good pleasure to be sygnifyed to me in this matter. Humbly takyng my leve from Chattham the 14 of Marche 1583.

"Your Honour's most bownden,

"JOHN HAWKINS.

"The officers wyll hold this for a myracle at the first syght, for they wold have the sparyng of 1714<sup>li</sup> gyven to the Carpenters to performe thordynary, for they say all ys to lyttell."

[*Inclosure in the above.*]

"14 March 1583. A note to shewe plainelye howe her maties whole Navy is to be kepte allwaies in serviceable order, as well for the makinge of newe shippes when neede shalbe, the repairing and newe building of the shippes as they decaye, and for the Carpentry in maynteyning the shippes in harborowe, all which shalbe done in most safe & perfecte order, farre better then in daies paste, and ease for her Ma<sup>tie</sup> of 3000<sup>li</sup> charge yearelye, that was spent in Carpentry before the yeare of 1579.

"First, the ordinarie, which was paid unto the Treasurer of the shippes out of her maties Exchequer for the keeping & manteininge of Yearlye.  
her maties shippes in harborowe, amounted yearlye to . . . . 5714 0 0

"The Extraordinarye paymentes & charges that grewe in the said office for Carpentrye onelye in her maties time appeareth by Presidentes in fyve yeares from A<sup>o</sup> 1573 to 1579, amounted to yearly . . . . 3231 0 0

"All which ordinarie and extraordinarye beinge drawen together,  
dothe amount to . . . . . 8945 0 0

“ There doe growe in the office sondrie controversies in devydinge the Ordinarie and Extraordinarie for Carpentrye, wherby her mat<sup>ties</sup> Service is hindered.

“ The Shippwrightes denye some matters to be ordinarie, and refuse to doe the service.

“ The officers, on thother side, denye to give allowance for sundrye matters, alleadging them not to be extraordinarie, and by those meanes the strife continueth, and divers thinges omitted that otherwise wold be done.

“ Therefore, if it might please your honours to be a meane to her Majestie, that the ordinarie and Extraordinarie maye bee one, the controversies wold cease, her mat<sup>ties</sup> shippes shold allwaies be in order for service, saving one shipp, that will allwaies bee in new makeinge, all such shippes as bee of ill condition may be decaied, and newe shippes of their length and breadth made in their places, as their time of decaye shall come, and the ordinary besides performed in as ample manner as it hath bene any time these xvij yeares.

“ The manner and charge to perfourme all these matters beforesaide :—

“ First, there is required that the old Ordinarie warraunte of 5714<sup>li</sup> may bee paid to the Treasurer of the shippes monethly, as in Anno 1578.

“ For the which all the Ordynarie, that hath byne Ordinarie since this former somme of 5714<sup>li</sup> was graunted, shalbe better performed then it hath bine.

“ Item, all the Extraordinarie for makinge of new shippes, and repairing of such as decaye, which was, as aforesaide, a charge of 3231<sup>li</sup> yearlye, shalbe likewise performed as well as ever it was, and her mat<sup>tie</sup> cleared of the charge.

“ So as her mat<sup>tie</sup> is eased in charge, by these matters before recyted, yearlye the somme of 3231<sup>li</sup> 0 0.

“ Item, it is to be noted that her mat<sup>ties</sup> store and remayne of Cordage, Canvas, Ankers, Shyvers of brasse, Rattlyne, Marlyne, Twine, &c. with dyvers reparations of decaied places in the office, newe makeinge of Storehouses, & such like, is and wilbe encreased by Mychellmas next, with the sparinge of tholde ordinarie warraunt of 1714<sup>li</sup>, to the somme of viij<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup>li.

“ To the right honorable the Lo. highe Threasurer, The Lord heighe Admirall, and S<sup>r</sup> Walter Mildmaye, Knight.”

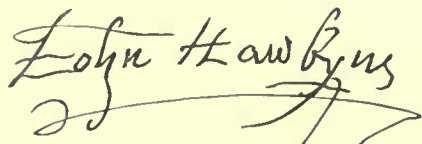
XVI.—*On certain Passages in the Life of Sir John Hawkins, temp. Elizabeth. In a Letter from Captain W. H. SMYTH, R.N., K.S.F., D.C.L., Director, President of the Royal Geographical Society of London, &c. to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., Secretary.*

Read 7th June, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

3, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, 16th May, 1849.

ADVERTING to the Letter addressed to me by John Payne Collier, Esq. V.P. recently read to the Society, which accompanies a valuable statement from Sir John Hawkins, I perceive he mentions that excellent old seaman's having been called by his biographers "Treasurer of the Navy," and also "Treasurer of Ships." To these I take occasion to add a third official designation, namely, that of "Treasurer of the Queen's Majesty's Marine Causes," as may be seen in the Cottonian MSS. Otho, E. ix. and elsewhere. In 1573 he seems to have succeeded the brave William Holstock as Comptroller of the Navy, a high and arduous office, the duties of which he discharged so ably that Sir William Monson, a man by no means given to flatter him, assures us, that he introduced more useful inventions and better regulations into the service than any of his predecessors had done. But the post of the "Treasurer of the Queen's Marine Causes" appears to have been a patent office, which he at first held conjointly with the well known Benjamin Gonson (frequently miscalled Tonson), who received his appointment from Edward VIth; the commission still preserved in the British Museum being made out in favour of "the saide Benjamin Gonson, and our beloved servant John Hawkyns, Esquire, or to the longer lyver of them." This place was probably more honourable and responsible than lucrative; for a year's payment for fee, travelling expenses, boat hire, and clerk, appears to have been only £220. 13s. 4d.



was a keen reformer of the abuses which had, even then, crept into our royal dock-yards; and much positive as well as inferential testimony is still obtainable as to the courses which he steered in accomplishing the desired ends. Thus Otho, E. ix. though so unhappily damaged by fire, is a very important repository of insulated facts in point; and it contains a treasury of rare and curious information as to the minutiae of naval arrangement in the victual-



ling, tackle, and stores; and also in the appointment of officers and crews to the ships. Among others, there is a valuable document containing an account of moneys received and expended by Hawkins, from the year 1578 to the end of December 1588, both included; the which "accompte of receiptes and paymentes for y<sup>e</sup> 11 yeres above-saide was delivered to my Lo. Treas. aboute a yere paste." From this unquestionably authentic official report of all the naval charges, a fair insight may be gained into at least one of the great branches of public money expenditure; and it also affords a scale for noting the pressure of political effervescence on the public purse. Mr. Collier has shown, that Hawkins had properly represented the useless waste of money he witnessed to Sir Walter Mildmay; but it seems clear that in 1583, the year mentioned as that when he was busily engaged in making investigations for the reduction of dock-yard extravagance, he had actually then reduced the expenses to about half the average amount of the first years of his supervision. This, however, was during a time which comparatively was only slightly agitated; but the active preparations for offensive measures which were then undertaken by Philip of Spain having transpired, there was so large and brisk a run on our arsenals, that economy was for a time in abeyance. Now, as the manuscript named Otho, E. 1x. fol. 120, exhibits a faithful register of the year's expenses when the so-called Invincible Armada was defeated, together with the costs of the ten foregoing years, a view is presented, by which a tolerably accurate conclusion may be gained, of the burthen consequent on the means taken to protect the country against its projected invasion by the Spaniards. This account, unlike many of its contemporary ones, is drawn up in Arabian numerals; the payments are registered on the right hand, and the receipts on the left of the book; and from it the following is extracted:

|            |    |           |         | <i>Received.</i> |    |    | <i>Paid.</i> |    |    |
|------------|----|-----------|---------|------------------|----|----|--------------|----|----|
|            |    |           |         | £                | s. | d. | £            | s. | d. |
| Anno 1578, | 21 | Elizabeth | . . . . | 14,276           | 4  | 9  | 14,956       | 17 | 6½ |
| 1579,      | 22 | —         | . . . . | 8,424            | 1  | 6  | 8,206        | 6  | 1  |
| 1580,      | 23 | —         | . . . . | 15,829           | 16 | 1  | 14,139       | 14 | 2  |
| 1581,      | 24 | —         | . . . . | 9,598            | 19 | 8  | 11,902       | 14 | 7¼ |
| 1582,      | 25 | —         | . . . . | 8,388            | 11 | 6  | 8,663        | 1  | 5¼ |
| 1583,      | 26 | —         | . . . . | 6,694            | 3  | 11 | 6,135        | 3  | 2  |
| 1584,      | 27 | —         | . . . . | 8,020            | 2  | 5  | 8,539        | 3  | 1  |
| 1585,      | 28 | —         | . . . . | 12,934           | 1  | 2  | 16,602       | 7  | 3½ |
| 1586,      | 29 | —         | . . . . | 25,670           | 12 | 1  | 29,391       | 1  | 0¼ |
| 1587,      | 30 | —         | . . . . | 46,291           | 17 | 11 | 43,984       | 5  | 2¼ |
| 1588,      | 31 | —         | . . . . | 88,231           | 1  | 0  | 90,837       | 2  | 2¼ |

From the *summæ totales*, not over-accurately added up, the balance is thus struck :

|  | £.       | s. | d. |
|--|----------|----|----|
| Sr John Hawkins, 11 yeares payments . . . . .  | 248,996  | 14 | 9  |
| Sr John Hawkins, 11 yeares receiptes . . . . . | 244,359  | 16 | 10 |
| Surplusage . . . . .                           | £004,636 | 17 | 11 |

Sir John's attention to all branches of naval expenditure will also be seen in the correspondence between him and Sir Julius Cæsar, the Judge of the Admiralty, now preserved in the British Museum; and in No. cxiii. 14. *Bibliothecæ Lansdownianæ*, there is "information of enormous abuses in the Queen's Navy, and in particular of some committed or connived at by Sir William Winter:" the said Sir William being one of his official colleagues. This remarkable document is classed under the heads:—"I. The Ordinarie. II. Disorder in repaire of shippes. III. Overcharge in buylding of newe shippes. IV. Boateswynes do not indent. V. Overcharge in tymber and plancks. VI. Abuse in purveighing and carrage." Not that he walked such a course without opposition, for, like a dock-yard cleanser of our own day, he was bitterly assailed by the aggrieved. The ousted Mr. Borowe "made a booke" against him, and "proeured it to be delivered to hir Majestie:" and in 1587 a friend of the complainants made a formal attack by exhibiting a string of articles against the "injuste mind and deceiptful dealings" of Hawkins. A copy of this recriminatory counter-blast is preserved in the Lansdowne MSS. (*vol. lii. cap. 43, fol. 109,*) and is neatly though archaically written. It seems that the informer, by his own shewing, was invited to the aforesaid Winter's table, in the very year Mr. J. P. Collier mentions, namely, 1583; and it pleased that official to like him so well "y<sup>t</sup> he admitted me to talke with him often tymes by his bed side. many and sondry morninges," where much discussion of arsenal-mysteries took place; "only thus much I note, y<sup>t</sup> more cannot be uttered by my tongue to sett forth the basenes of y<sup>e</sup> saide Mr. Hawkins, in birth, mind, and manners, or to foretell his intent and pretended deceiptes, which are now apparente, than by this saide Sr William and others of that parte was to me declared." Aided specially by Winter and Mathew Baker, the master-shipwright, he sat to work in watching the acts and movements of Hawkins: but, continues the narrator, "I founde by observance y<sup>t</sup> he observed me, and ever after made showe unto me, and many tymes he invited me to his table, and shewed himselfe very willinge to resolve me in any-thing I questioned or communed of, sayinge y<sup>t</sup> whoever had informed me of any such matter, if I woulde knowe y<sup>e</sup> truth, he woulde satisfy me therein. I shewed

myselfe willinge, and harde from tyme to tyme what he coulde saie, but never founde any other thinges in him but shews and shaddowes without any substance." Hawkins must have been aware that he had a spy to deal with, and yet he seems to have discoursed very freely with him, for the complainant proceeds, " Amongst many matters y<sup>t</sup> were betweene us taulked upon, as the boutching of the shippes and deceiving the Q. in his profest savings: the generall clamors of numbers of people against him, whose lyvings they saide he and his wife did take away: the parte of the shippe adventures and purchases w<sup>h</sup> he had made: the abuse commytted in the store-house by him and some others, by buyinge cordage and canvas at one price and thrusting it into the store-houses by turnes at higher prices," &c. It was perhaps *en masque* that the Treasurer thus discoursed on his affairs both public and private: and it appears that all the revealments were duly reported in the opposite camp. " Having," says the Spy, " a taulke with S<sup>r</sup> William Wynter, I tould him what I harde Mr. Hawkins report of his state as aforesaide. His answere was, ' what a dissembling knave is y<sup>t</sup>, when he was hurte in the Strande, and made his will, he was not able to gyve 500<sup>li</sup>;' y<sup>t</sup> being true, it is to be noted that all that he is nowe worth, and y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>h</sup> he hathe wasted, hathe byn drawne by deceipte from hir Ma<sup>y</sup>." He then details the various abuses and corruptions of the last three or four years, with insinuations against Holstock, Pett, and Sir Francis Drake; after which he proceeds—

"About April last Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Pett fell at varyance upon accomptes, and he knowinge y<sup>t</sup> I had bynn, and hearinge y<sup>t</sup> I was an observer of Mr. Hawkins dealinge, made meanes to conferr w<sup>h</sup> me, whose acquayntance I as willingly embrased as he required myne. Our meetinge was at Phillipp Elizes chamber in Dettforde Yarde. He is one of S<sup>r</sup> William Wynters clerkes. The said Mr. Pett discoursed w<sup>h</sup> me, and discovered many thinges w<sup>h</sup> Mr. Baker and others had toulde me, but he had y<sup>e</sup> particular profes; w<sup>h</sup> seeinge, I liked exceedingly, hoopinge nowe to laye open my longe wished discoverye of his abuses and deceipte aforesaide.

"Not longe after I mette S<sup>r</sup> William Wynter and Mr. Hawkins walking together in Grenewiche Courte. Mr. Hawkins came to me and challenged me y<sup>t</sup> I was a syfter and searcher after him. I answered I did not syfte him, but sayed, if any woulde tell me enethinge either of him or eny other y<sup>t</sup> I woulde not stoppe myne eares; and, sayde I, bycause you charge me so hardely, if y<sup>t</sup> be false I heare of you it is pittie of their lyves, if true it is pittie y<sup>r</sup> head standeth upon y<sup>r</sup> shoulders. His answere was, that all was false, and y<sup>t</sup> if I would come home to him he woulde resolve me of eny thinge. S<sup>r</sup> William saide nothinge, at w<sup>h</sup> I merveiled, and by it and others there famyliaryties, and puttinge in of his shippe—as also for y<sup>t</sup> my L. Admyrall toulde me he had made them as faste as bockell and girdell—I suspected them to be reconciled, and objected y<sup>e</sup> same to S<sup>r</sup> William Wynter's saide mann Phillipp Elize, who answered y<sup>t</sup> upon his lyfe it was not so, for, saide he, you knowe howe many wayes my m<sup>r</sup> hath sought against him, and coulde never prevaile, and therefore he closeth w<sup>h</sup> him to catch him at a sure advantage.



And gett but his accomptes to be examyned, and it shall appeare y<sup>e</sup> charge to be greater than in my m<sup>r</sup> his time, and y<sup>e</sup> state of y<sup>e</sup> navye by many degrees worse, and if you can bringe it to passe, I warrant you my m<sup>r</sup> will shewe himselfe."

The complainant then proceeds with some startling details; and he sums up by charging Sir John Hawkins with the crimes of peculation, falsifying of public accounts, and embezzlement of timber and stores, especially in what was expended for building "S<sup>r</sup> Walter Ralighes greate shippe." He therefore prays that the corrupt Treasurer shall be indicted capitally for his manifold sins in "usinge hir Ma<sup>tes</sup> eonÿssions to his owne pryvate comoditie:" and he trusts that the proceedings will be before S<sup>r</sup> Walter Mildemay and Mr. Seeretary Walsingham, "hir Ma<sup>tes</sup> most honourable and experienced counsellors in these eauses."

The charges are very serious in the reading, but must have been regarded as *brutum fulmen*, since no regard was paid to them. Hawkins continued in his office for seven years longer, and then merely vacated it to accept of a particuar command.

It further appears, that from the 9th to the 32nd year of Elizabeth, the annual cost of the Ordinary for 30 ships was £5714 2s. 2d.; and then, the Navy being increased to 43 ships, the charge for the Ordinary was made £8973 4s. 4d.; and so it continued all Sir John Hawkins's life-time. In the very elaborate report of the Commissioners appointed by James I. to inquire into the state of the Marine, it is recorded that, "in the first year of Queene Elizabeth, in a declaration made (as it seemeth) by the officers of y<sup>e</sup> Admiralty, what forces the State could then fit to sea, there are reckoned of the Queene's owne shippes but 22 thought serviceable, and fitt to bee preserved, and 10 decayed, and to be continued in charge only durence the dainger of the time, and then to bee solde, or to bee disposed of to the Queene's best proffitt. All these 32 contayned 7110 tons, and required 5610 men at sea. In the 30th year of her reigne, that navy of 176 English shipps, which, with 14,992 men (by God's assistance), overthrew the pretended Invincible Armada of Spaine, had 34 of the Queene's shipps, being in all 12,190 tons, and earrying 6225 men aboard. In the 44th (which was her last yeare compleate) the whole navy in ordinary charges contayned 53 vessels, whereof fourty-two were serviceable, and 11 decayed; the serviceable were 33 shipps, 5 gallys, and 4 barkes; the shipps in tons were 14,060, as Mr. Baker rated them, and they required 6846 men."

In reverting to Sir John Hawkins's account, and running the eye over its successive years, it will be readily seen how the political throes influenced the sums of each; and it will be also apparent, that the payments were not so scrupulously governed by the actual receipts as modern times enforce. The first portion of the series was passed in comparative peace, although we ever and anon snarled at the

Spaniard, and there was an occasional singeing of his beard in the tropical regions by our Drakes and Hawkinses, our Cavendishes and Raleighs. But in 1585 the affairs of the Low Countries had induced us to meddle a little more in the matter. This, of course, irritated King Philip (*Phillipp*), insomuch that on the 29th May he issued a mandate for laying an embargo on the ships of England and her allies; which act was followed by our equipping and sending Drake, then an Admiral, to ravage his Colonies with a powerful fleet and a body of land forces. This expedition was far more costly than effective, and, though it distressed the enemy, it was a source of much disappointment to the nation; but it proved remarkable as having introduced the use of tobacco among us, and the making "good meate to eate" from those "very ugly and fearefull beastes to behold," the "alligartas and greate turtoises." Thenceforward it was absolute war with Spain, and Philip's extensive preparations for conquest being notorious, our efforts were excited, and the expenses rose in proportion. But after the defeat of the arrogantly named Armada, though the country still remained in warfare, and though the exulting Parliament actually doubled the subsidies in one supply, the disbursements were reined in and moderated. This may be inferred from a statement in MS. Otho, E. ix., fol. 122, in copying which, as the amount received in 1589 has been obliterated by fire, it has been interpolated from the gross total to aid the further comparison:—

|                                 | <i>Received.</i> |    |    | <i>Disbursed.</i> |    |    |
|---------------------------------|------------------|----|----|-------------------|----|----|
|                                 | £                | s. | d. | £                 | s. | d. |
| Anno 1589, 32 Elizabeth . . . . | 51,141           | 15 | 1  | 47,843            | 1  | 0  |
| 1590, 33 — . . . .              | 56,189           | 17 | 6  | 60,373            | 19 | 2  |
| 1591, 34 — . . . .              | 38,691           | 18 | 3  | 32,770            | 4  | 4  |
| 1592, 35 — . . . .              | 30,928           | 13 | 5  | 31,575            | 10 | 7  |
| 1593, 36 — . . . .              | 26,148           | 9  | 3  | 32,223            | 6  | 8  |
| 1594, 37 — . . . .              | 49,139           | 3  | 7  | 48,880            | 7  | 0  |

In the last cited year, the alliance offensive and defensive of Elizabeth with Henry IV. of France seems to have re-opened the stream of expenditure, for the general charges were rapidly increasing, when the great economist of the day, Sir John Hawkins, left his civil office to accept of active employment. As the knight was then between 75 and 80 years of age, and wealthy withal, people marvelled why he should thus have acted; but, in the thought of redeeming his beloved son Richard, then a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards, he was induced to accept of a joint commission with Sir Francis Drake, on an expedition to the West Indies. The high renown of these celebrated Admirals made this enterprise a spring of

hope to the English, and a source of dismay to the enemy. It proved, however, unsuccessful, and both the commanders died during its progress.

To our now millionized conceptions, the foregoing "accòmpts" appear to be in a very moderate ratio; and many of the charges for equipping and maintaining a national fleet seem to be actually trivial. The whole marine expense of opposing and defeating the Invincible Armada itself, was but little more than would at present be required for building and fitting out only a couple of goodly ships of the line; even bearing in mind that money then was rather more than twice its present value. The payments and prices of the period must be recollected in striking a comparative valuation. By the Cottonian MSS. in Otho, E. 1x. we learn that in the summer of 1588, her Majesty's navy bore 8 admirals, 3 vice-admirals, 1 rear-admiral, 126 captains, 136 masters, 26 lieutenants, 24 corporals, 2 ensign bearers, 1 secretary, 13 preachers, and 11,623 mariners and soldiers. The pay, besides "dyet monies," of an admiral was 66*s.* 8*d.* per diem, of a vice-admiral 40*s.*, and of a rear-admiral 15*s.* per diem; and all the captains received a daily pay of 2*s.* 6*d.* For those who were paid by the month, there were £3 to the master, £1. 5*s.* to the boatswain and the carpenter, £1 to the surgeon, 15*s.* to the gunner, and 11*s.* 3*d.* to the quarter-gunner; while the foremast men received 10*s.* per mensem, the gromets 7*s.* 6*d.*, and the boys 5*s.*; the victualling being sixpence a day per head. The pay of the dock-yard artizans was not greatly different from that in the reign of Henry VIIIth, in whose accounts the "wayges of selhippe wryghttes," caulkers, and oakum-boys are noted, varying from viii*d.* to iii*d.* per diem. This curious list is printed, but with rectified orthography, in the second volume of Charnock's "History of Marine Architecture."

It should be also stated that we learn from the same and similar sources, that at this time the materials in the yards were priced at 20*s.* per load for oak timber, canvas 25*s.* to 30*s.* a bolt, anchors 33*s.* 4*d.* per cwt., spike-nails 2*s.* the 100, cables 18*s.* 8*d.* per cwt., cordage 30*s.* per ton, oakum 6*d.* per stone, pitch and tar 10*s.* a barrel, and tallow 7*s.* 8*d.* per cwt. Provisions were then sold at—biscuit 11*s.* the cwt., beef 2½*d.* per lb., pork 2*d.* and bacon 3*d.* per lb.; stock-fish £12 per last, or 4*d.* the piece, beer with the casks 44*s.* the ton, butter 4*d.* a pound, and cheese 2*d.*, oatmeal 3*s.* a bushel, and peas 24*s.* a quarter. Vinegar was 8*d.* the gallon, candles 3*d.* the pound, fire-wood 12*s.* per 1000 billets; and the purser was supplied with fuel, dishes, cans, lanterns, and other necessities for the ship's company, at the rate of 4*d.* a man per mensem. And in order to estimate relatively the monetary value of these prices, it has been shown by statistical writers that corn was then—wheat about 20*s.* the quarter (equal to £2. 1*s.* 4*d.* of present cash), rye at 13*s.* 4*d.*



(£1. 7s. 8d.), and barley at 12s. (£1. 4s. 10d.); and the agricultural labourer received 5d. a day. Now it was only about a century before this that the average prices of the same grain were respectively 6s. 8d., 4s., and 3s. the quarter, and common labour was statuted at 4d. per diem: a man being able in this instance to earn a quarter of wheat by 20 days' labour, while in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign it would require more than double the time to effect the same. It will be seen that there was something anomalous in this; for, though the bullion had been depreciated by Henry VIII. and others, the standard was restored by Edward VI. to its former worth; so that in 1552 the value of a pound sterling corresponded to £1.0s.6¾d. present money,—and since that period the standard has scarcely undergone any change as to weight or purity. Provisions, indeed, had had an extraordinary rise in the mean time, and wages a very small one; the effects of which disproportion became so glaring at the period under consideration, that it was the real cause of the compulsory aid called Poor Rates being introduced. But the seaman then as now was well provided for, and both his wages and diet were most punctually attended to; though the convenience of allotment money was as yet unknown. Every man had for his allowance, by the day, one pound of biseuit, one gallon of beer, and two pounds of beef with salt, for the Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays; and for the Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays—the Banian days of modern seamen—every man to have, by the day, one quarter of a stock-fish, half a quarter of a pound of butter, and a quarter of a pound of cheese. The victuals were to be good in kind, and to be approved of by the officers of the Admiralty. An account of anno 31 Elizabeth, preserved in Otho, E. ix. fol. 361, may be considered illustrative:

|  |                   |                   |                     |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Victualles for 800 men, at vi <sup>d</sup> a man by the daie . . . . .               | iiij <sup>m</sup> | iiij <sup>c</sup> | vij <sup>xxii</sup> |
| For wages of the said nomber at vi <sup>d</sup> a man by the daie, for the said viii |                   |                   |                     |
| monthes . . . . .  | iiij <sup>m</sup> | iiij <sup>c</sup> | vij <sup>xxii</sup> |
| Of which the latter som for wages that the vessels allowed, but for 4                |                   |                   |                     |
| months, then the totall som will be . . . . .  | vi <sup>m</sup>   | vii <sup>c</sup>  | xx <sup>li</sup>    |
| More for sheathing of iiij shippes, and new price of sailes . . . . .                |                   | m <sup>li</sup>   |                     |
| Summa totalis of the whole * . . . . .   | vi <sup>m</sup>   | vij <sup>c</sup>  | xx <sup>li</sup>    |

Besides the rigging and other furniture of the said shippes with ordonnance, powder, shott, and other implements not yet to be well esteemed.

Such were the expenses of building and equipment in the Sea-Queen's reign; and among the Records in the King's Remembrancer's Office are the papers of Michael Lok, Treasurer of the Cathay Company in 1576, when Martin Frobisher was fitted out on his first voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage; wherein

\* This term, therefore, is not so new as some of our political contemporaries imagine!

we find the scientific cost of an expedition in that day. Among the payments made to Humphrey Cole, and others, for maps and nautical instruments, are these :

|  | £. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|
| For a booke of Cosmographie in French, of Andreas Thevet . . . . .                     | 2  | 4  | 0  |
| For a greate globe of metal in Blanke, in a case of lether . . . . .                   | 7  | 13 | 4  |
| For a greate brasse Arnilla Tolomæi, or Hemisperium, with a case . . . . .             | 4  | 6  | 8  |
| For a case with small instruments for Geometrie, of yron . . . . .                     | 0  | 6  | 8  |
| For an instrument of brasse, named Sphera Nautica, with a case . . . . .               | 4  | 6  | 8  |
| For a greate instrument of brasse, named Compassum Meridianum, with a case . . . . .   | 4  | 6  | 8  |
| For a greate instrument of brasse, named Holometrum Geometricum, with a case . . . . . | 4  | 0  | 0  |
| For a greate instrument of brasse, named Horologium Universale, with a case . . . . .  | 2  | 6  | 8  |
| For a ringe of brasse, named Annulus Astronomicus . . . . .                            | 1  | 10 | 0  |
| For a very greate Carte of Navigation . . . . .  | 5  | 0  | 0  |
| For a greate Mappe Universall of Mercator, in prente . . . . .                         | 1  | 6  | 8  |
| For 3 other small Mappes, prented . . . . .  | 0  | 6  | 8  |
| For a Cosmographicall Glasse & Castell of Knowlege . . . . .                           | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| For Sir John Mandevylle, Englishe . . . . .  | 0  | 1  | 0  |
| For 20 Compasses of divers sorts . . . . .   | 3  | 3  | 0  |
| For 18 Hower Glasses . . . . .   | 0  | 17 | 0  |
| For a Astrolabium . . . . .  | 3  | 10 | 0  |

A word or two may be said, in conclusion, upon Sir John Hawkins, who has not received that attention from his biographers which his case demands. It will be recollected that this veteran sailor was one of the Elizabethan band of heroes who confirmed our naval supremacy in the sixteenth century. His opening career was remarkable for bold daring; and he was wont to maintain, that one of the Queen's ships ought to beat four Spanish men-of-war; but the noted disaster at St. Juan de Ulloa may have damped his spirit of enterprise, for, after returning from what he termed his "sorrowful voiage," he betook himself to the civil department of the service. Yet though this led him from the ocean expeditions to which he had been accustomed, it was not at all a bear-up from active duties, since the control of the Navy was then a post which usually comprised the command of a squadron for the protection of the Narrow Seas, as well as the superintendence of the building, repairing, equipping, manning, and victualling the royal ships. Thus his flag was flying on board the *Jesus* in 1587, when he fired a shot at the Spanish Admiral who came into Plymouth; for the *Don*, on this occasion, being charged with the escort of Anne of Austria to espouse King Philip, and, considering himself and his mission of high importance, had omitted to strike his flag and pay the usual honours to the Queen of England's maritime supremacy. But Hawkins compelled him, after

much altercation and formal discussion, to perform all the required ceremonials. He also fought bravely in the following year against the Armada, in which momentous struggle he was the third in command, or Rear-Admiral, with his flag hoisted in the Victory, a ship of 800 tons and 400 men, of whom 268 were mariners, 32 gunners, and 100 soldiers. Indeed he had so hot a share in the danger and honour of that achievement as to be pointedly commended by the Queen, and deservedly knighted by her. But only two years afterwards, having ended an apologetic despatch to her Majesty, on the failure of his attempt to intercept the Spanish Plate-fleet, with an ill-applied Scriptural allusion, she, indulging a characteristic but momentary burst, exclaimed,—“ God’s death! this fool went out a soldier, and is come home a divine!”

Yet there is a still graver charge against Hawkins, and one which weighs heavily upon his character in this our nineteenth century; for he is usually branded as the first proposer and actual founder of the odious Slave Trade. Still even here a word of extenuation will not violate truth. He certainly adopted and followed up that line with signal vivacity, until his noted “sorrowful voiage” gave him a severe check; yet herein it seems that he was rather following the opinions and practice of his age, and in virtue of a treaty between Henry VIII. and Charles V., than suggesting or contriving anything absolutely new. It is well known that the Portuguese made descents on the coasts of Africa a couple of centuries before the time of Hawkins, and carried off the wretched inhabitants into slavery, under the religious pretext of fulfilling the sacred duty of converting the heathens; and the singular expedient of the otherwise benevolent Las Casas, for relieving the unhappy American Indians by importing Negroes from Africa, had been many years in full action. Camden, a contemporary of our Navigator, says, in his *Annales Elizabethæ Angliæ Reginæ*,—“Black slaves (*nigriti mancipiis*) were now commonly bought in Africa by the Spaniards, and, from their example, by the English, and sold again in America:” and the good old Historian, misgiving the equity of the act, honourably adds,—“*nescio quam honesta.*” Dr. Campbell, the naval biographer, also asserts that Hawkins acquired his knowledge of the Slave Trade, and the large profit obtainable by the sale of Negroes, during his voyages to the Canaries. It will be recollected that it was in the third of these slaving voyages that Sir Francis Drake first left the Narrow Seas to serve under Hawkins; yet Dr. Johnson, in his life of that seaman, has indulged in no moral reflections—*more suo*—against the atrocity of the expedition; and Hawkins has generally, till our own day, been only gently scathed. Good testimony is brought forward in proof of the tenderness and humanity of his disposition, which made him much beloved by his officers and sailors; and he was moreover scrupulously religious, praising “the name of God, who worked all things for



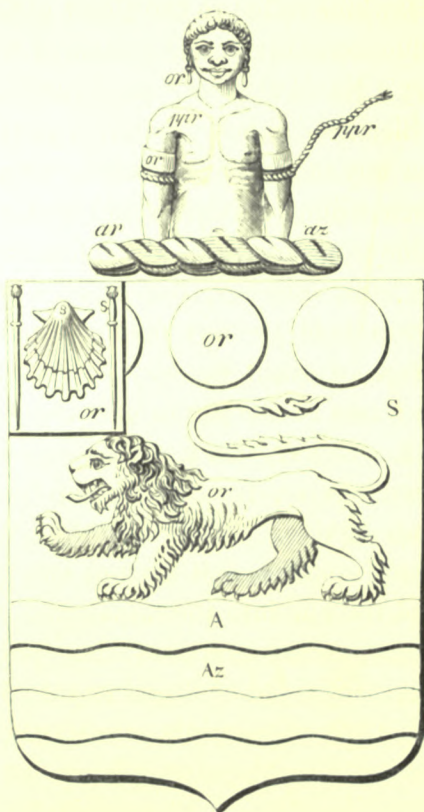
the best, who would not suffer them to be surprised, and by whom they escaped without danger." Even in the orders to his crew, as preserved in Hakluyt, he exhorts them, while on the coast of Guinea trip, to "serve God daily ; to love one another ; and to keep good company."

Still, though he may have been but secondary in originating that truly disgraceful traffic, there is no denying that he was a slave-dealer and kidnapper, by whom it was both continued and extended : and as he was in all likelihood the first Englishman so engaged, he receives no quarter from the Abolition-writers ; nay, even Commissioner Schomberg, himself a sailor, in his *Naval Chronology* (*vol. i. p. 24*), says, " that in 1562, Mr. John Hawkins sailed to the Coast of Guinea for the purchase of slaves, which was the introduction of the horrid custom of trafficking for human flesh." Now it is shown in Berkeley's *Naval History*,<sup>a</sup> pages 290-295, that at first he compassed only decoying the Blacks—" whose condition in life," he observed, " was so bad that they could not fear any other being worse"—to a better climate and more fruitful country, where their willing service would bear a high price. Nor did the coercion ensue till his mutinous seamen, and the infamous Captain Field, compelled him to resort to violence. Still, however, the practice was deemed lawful by the public : and, as Hawkins was held to have opened a new trade, he had, through William Harvey, Clarenceux, a grant by way of increase and augmentation as follows :—ARMS. *Sable*, on waves of the sea in base *argent* and *azure* a lion passant *or*, in chief three bezantes. CREST. On a wreath *argent* and *azure*, a demi-moor *proper*, with armlets and earrings *or*, his arms bound by a cord passing behind his back *proper*, " as bonde and captive." Such was the grant conferred in 1565, in recognition of the " coragious, woorthy, and famous enterprises begonne, atchieved, and done by his skill and travaile into the unhaunted partes of Affrica and America."<sup>b</sup> Now this grant proves that exertions thus publicly acknowledged and requited, could not have been regarded as illegal or iniquitous in the opinion of his age. Nor was this all : in 1568, three years afterwards, as if to compensate for the miscarriage at St. Juan de Ulloa, those arms were further augmented by Robert Cooke, Clarenceux, who, after reciting—" Whereas John Hawkins, Esquyre (vnto whom the pattent whereunto this sedule annexed was graunted), travaylinge to the Weste Indias in A° 1568, arryved at a towne caled Rio de la Hacha, nere Capo de la

<sup>a</sup> This heavy folio bears the name of Hon. George Berkeley, Captain R.N. ; but it was actually compiled by the multifarious Sir John Hill, and published in 1756.

<sup>b</sup> The original patent is drawn—" *Sable* on a poynte wave a lyon passaunt goulde in chiefe iij bezantz, and in token of his victorie against the Moores vpon his helme on a wreth *argent* and *azure*, a demy Moore in his proper color, bounde in a corde as bonde and captive, w<sup>th</sup> annelets on his armes and eares goulde, the said helme mantelled gulz doubled argente."

Vela, to thende to furnyshe himself of suche necessaryes as he wanted, viz. water and fuell, where he was by Michell de Castilianos, a Spanyard, in warlyke wise resisted w<sup>th</sup> 1000 harkabushers, nevertheles the sayd John Hawkins, w<sup>th</sup> 200 men vnd<sup>r</sup> his conducton and valiantnes, entred the sayd towne, and not only put the sayd Captayne and his men to flight, but also toke and brought his enseigne away, for a perpetuall memory whereof," grants on a canton a skalop *or* between two palmer's staves *sable*. My excellent friend Sir Charles Young, Garter, has kindly examined the original drafts of the patents of both these augmentations at my request; and has moreover furnished me with the coat—



Offering this in palliation rather than as matter which can exonerate Hawkins, it ought to be added, that his energies were highly beneficial to our national greatness, and that he was much dreaded by the Queen's enemies. There is still existing among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum an angry remonstrance of the French against Mons. *Jean Aquines*: and in the Additional MSS. 13,964, fol. 351, is a Spanish version of his last expedition, intituled, "Relazion de lo sucedido en San Juan de Puerto Rico de las Yndias con la armada Ynglesa del cargo de Francisco Draque y Juan Aquines alos 23 de Noviembre de 1595." He moreover

had the honour of being vituperated by no less a bard than Lopez de la Vega, who, having burnt his fingers in one of the ships of the Invincible Armada, tarnished his bays by writing the scurrilous and blasphemous *Dracontea*, a poem to which Camoens prefixed laudatory verses !

The *Spanish Shakspeare*, as he has been called, was not accurately informed as to the actual condition of the personages of his satire, since he makes Drake—his “Capitan Dragon”—to be a “Protestante pirata de Escocia ;” and he apparently considers Hawkins to have been a land-soldier. He thus quaintly introduces those officers and their Queen :—

Lo que una libertad y atrevimiento

fuera de la esperanza mover suele,  
levantó de la Reyna el pensamiento,  
a quien del oro la codicia impele :  
propone su intencion al Parlamento,  
para que el rayo de sus manos vuele,  
y a pesar de los emulos burlados  
salen dos Generales decretados.

Francisco Draque, de la mar elige,

Juan Achines de tierra, y desta suerte  
su cargo cada qual de los dos rige,  
y embarca gente veterana y fuerte :  
tambien se apresta en el horrendo Estyge  
el que conduce a sempiterna muerte  
las condenadas almas, porque espera  
colmar para el passage su ribera.

That which a freedom and boldness

regardless of hope could only move,  
raised in the Queen her design,  
in whom gold and covetousness impelled :  
proposed her intention to the Parliament,  
so that the thunderbolt should from her hands fly,  
and notwithstanding rival deceitful competitors  
two Generals are determined on.

Francis Drake, of the sea elected,

John Hawkins of the land, and thus  
his charge each one directs,  
and embarks people veteran and strong :  
also gets ready in the horrid Styx  
he who leads to everlasting death  
the condemned souls, because he hopes  
to load his bark for the passage to its shores.

In the Letter written to Purchas, by R. M(*aynarde*), who actually served with both, a comparison is made between Hawkins and Drake, after the manner of Plutarch, in which we are presented with some characteristic traits. “In counsell,” it is asserted, “Sir John Hawkins did often differ from the judgement of others, seeming thereby to know more in doubtful things than he would utter. Sir Francis was a willing hearer of every man’s opinion, but commonly a follower of his owne. Sir John Hawkins naturally hated land soldiers, and, though he was very popular, affected to keep company with common people rather than his equals ; Sir Francis, on the contrary, loved the land soldiers, always encouraged and preferred merit wheresoever he found it, and was affable and easy of access. They had both many virtues, and agreed in some : as in patience in enduring labours and hardships ; observation and remembrance of things past, and great discretion in sudden dangers. In other virtues they differed : Sir John Hawkins was merciful, apt to forgive, and faithful to his word ; Sir Francis Drake, hard to be reconciled, but constant in friendship.”



The former is also described as being slow, jealous, and difficult to be brought to a resolution ; but, notwithstanding his coldness and caution, and “ with all his imperfections on his head,” he was fully acknowledged on every side as an eminent sailor, and a most useful public servant. The Rev. Charles Fitz-Geffrey, a contemporary poet, and a West-countryman to boot, in a most florid eulogium on his memory, thus bewails him,—

\*           \*           \*           \*

White palme, whose silver boughes inharbour'd rest,  
Snow-feath' red swan, the *Nestor* of the West.

*Nestor* in wisdom, art, and pollicie,  
*Nestor* in knowledge, skyll, and prudencie ;  
*Nestor* in counsell, and in gravitie,  
*Nestor* in wit, fore-sight, and modestie,  
*Nestor* in might, and magnanimitie,  
O would he had (as he had *Nestor's* haire)  
Enjoyed *Nestor's* age, and *Nestor's* yeares !

Born at Plymouth, then the nidus of adventurous worthies, and being the son of one of Henry VIIIth's leading sea-captains, Hawkins was initiated into maritime life at a very early age ; and, under a long course of service, he acquired a great name in his profession, as well as European renown. During his career he was 48 years a sea commander, 22 of which he officiated as Treasurer and Comptroller of the Royal Navy ; being applied to and consulted on every occasion relative to naval operations while he filled that highly responsible situation. Aided by his friend and companion in arms, the gallant Drake, in 1588 he instituted a benevolent and admirable fund for the benefit of maimed and worn-out mariners called the Chest at Chatham ; and from this excellent measure a plan was afforded upon which the still nobler institution at Greenwich was afterwards founded. Such merits must assuredly be placed to the credit side in balancing his character.

I am, dear Sir Henry, yours very truly,

W. H. SMYTH.

Sir Henry Ellis, K. H.  
&c. &c. &c.

XVII.—*Notes upon the Capture of "The Great Carrack," in 1592.**By WILLIAM RICHARD DRAKE, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read May 10th and 17th, 1849.

THE capture of the "Madre de Dios," or, as it was generally termed in England, "The Great Carrack," in 1592, was not merely an incident of unusual temporary interest, but even of permanent importance in the history of this country.

The capture was effected by an expedition designed by Sir Walter Raleigh. Queen Elizabeth, Sir John Hawkins, and some of the principal merchants of London were Sir Walter's partners in the adventure; the actual taking of the vessel was the work of Sir John Burgh, or Burrowes, aided by a fleet of ships belonging to the Earl of Cumberland; the prize was the largest that had ever been brought to the shores of England; and last, and most important of all, the contents of this magnificent vessel first exhibited to the eyes of Englishmen, in their own country, a ship-load of the treasures of the East, and stimulated, if it did not even lay the foundation of, that direct traffic with the Indies, which has since formed so important a feature in the commercial history of England.<sup>a</sup>

Some documents relating to this memorable capture, and the plunder and dis-

<sup>a</sup> Hakluyt thus writes in his account of the capture: "I cannot but enter into the consideration and acknowledgment of God's great fauor towards our nation, who by putting this purchase into our hands hath manifestly discouered those secret trades and Indian riches which hitherto lay strangely hidden and cunningly concealed from vs; whereof there was among some few of vs some small and vnperfect glimse onely, which now is turned into the broad light of full and perfect knowledge, whereby it would seeme that the will of God for our good is (if our weaknesse could apprehend it) to haue vs communicate with them in those East Indian treasures, and by the erection of a lawfull traffike to better our meanes to aduance true religion and his holy seruice." Ed. 1599, vol. ii. part ii. p. 198. The direct mercantile communication between England and the East Indies commenced in the year 1600, when a company was incorporated by royal charter, by the name of "The Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," who had the monopoly of the East Indian trade until the year 1636, when a second company was formed. The two associations effected a junction in 1650. Under the Protectorate in 1655 a third company was started, which, however, united with the old corporation in 1657. In 1698 a fourth company was incorporated; but both associations were united by the authority of government in the present East India Company under the denomination of "The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies."

position of the contents of the ship, have lately come under my notice, and it has occurred to me that the Society of Antiquaries may not think an incident which is connected with so many great names, and which led, however indirectly, to such remarkable results, unworthy of receiving some share of their attention.

It is well known that Queen Elizabeth joined in several of the adventures<sup>a</sup> of Sir Walter Raleigh and other of her subjects, contributing, though sparingly, either ships or money (generally the former), but taking care in either case to secure to herself a very queenly share of the benefits of the risks.

<sup>a</sup> A short review of the origin of these mercantile adventures, or privateering expeditions, may not be uninteresting. One of the elementary principles of "Prize Law" is that all prizes belong to the sovereign, and consequently, although according to the law of nations it is lawful in time of war for any subject to seize the ships and cargoes of enemies of his country, yet the goods so taken belong to the Crown. This royal prerogative was at a very early period waived in certain cases; and licences, denominated letters of Marque and Reprisal, were granted by the sovereign to subjects who had been injured by those of a foreign country, and where justice had been denied by the State to which the oppressors belonged. These letters of Marque and Reprisal were, by the law of nations, held sufficient to justify the holders in an attack upon and seizure of the property of the aggressor nation, without the hazard of being condemned as robbers or pirates.

The earliest notice which I have found of letters of Marque being issued in this country occurs in the year 1295, in the case of Bernard Dongressilli, a merchant of Bayonne, who, proceeding with goods towards England, anchored on the coast of Portugal, where, notwithstanding it was in time of peace, he was forcibly taken by the Portuguese and carried to Lisbon, and his cargo seized and sold, the king receiving a tenth part of the produce. Dongressilli, asserting that he was injured by this lawless act to the extent of 700*l.* sterling, applied to John of Britany,\* the king's viceroy or lieutenant in Gascony, to obtain "*licentiam mercandi homines et subditos de regno Portugallie, et bona eorum per terram et mare ubicunque eos et bona eorum invenire possit, quousque de prædictis bonis sibi, ut dictum est, ablatis, integram habuisset restitutionem.*" The licence, which was subsequently confirmed by King Edward I., was granted by John of Britany by letters dated from Bayonne, "*die Martis ante festum beati Barnabæ apostoli, anno Domini mcccxcv;*" the words of grant being as follows: "*Dedimus ipsi Bernardo et concessimus, et adhuc damus et concedimus eidem, suisque hæredibus, successoribus et ordinio licentiam, quod ipse gentes de regno Portugallie et specialiter illas de civitate Ulixbon prædictæ et bona earum ubicunque ea invenire poterit, infra districtum domini nostri Regis et Ducis et extra, possit marchare, retinere, et sibi appropriare illa; quousque ipse Bernardus, et hæredes sui, vel successores, aut ejus ordinium, bonis suis prædictis, ut dictum est, sibi deprædatis, vel ipsorum valore supra declarato cum expensis, quas rationabiliter illa occasione fecerit, fuerit integrè restitutus. Præsentibus per quinquennium vel quoadiu prædicti domini nostri Regis et Ducis aut nostræ placuerit voluntati duraturis.*" (*Rot. Vascon.* 23 Edw. I. m. 22; *Fœdera*, edit. 1816, vol. i. part ii. p. 828.)

Marque and Reprisal is referred to in the statute of the 27 Edw. III. cap. 17, as an established usage,

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\* John of Britany was fourth son of John duke of Britany and Beatrice Plantagenet, daughter of Henry III. of England, consequently nephew to Edward I. whose viceroy he was, and by whom he was created Earl of Richmond 15 Oct. 1306; ob. circa 1334, s. p.



The expedition to which the documents I am about to refer relate, was fitted out principally by Sir Walter Raleigh (who embarked in it the principal part of his fortune<sup>a</sup>), aided by Sir John Hawkins and the city of London; it had the sanction of a Royal Commission, and was assisted by a contribution from the Queen of two ships of war, the "Garland" and the "Foresight," together with a sum of 3,000*l.* of which however 1,500*l.* was laid out in repairing her Majesty's own ships.<sup>b</sup> The object of the enterprize appears to have been the combined one, of an attack on Panama and the interception of the Spanish Plate fleet at the Azores. Raleigh

"q̄ si noz ligez gentz, marchantz ou aut's, soient endamages p' ascuns Seign's destranges t'res ou leur subgitz, et les ditz Seignours duement requis faillent de droit a noz dites gentz, nous eions *la loi de Mark et de rep'sailles, come ad este use devant ces heures*, saunz fraude ou mal engin."

In the reign of Henry IV. a petition was presented to the king in Parliament praying for letters patent to take Marque and Reprisal of all French subjects (having no safe-conduct of the King of England), to a certain value for ships and goods taken by them in time of truce. (Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 643, No. 26.) In the succeeding reign a statute (4 Hen. V. cap. 7) was passed, which sets forth, that if any subjects of the realm should be oppressed in time of truce by any foreigners, the king would grant "marque en due forme" to all who felt themselves aggrieved; and the Act provided for the manner in which the licence should be sued out.

It soon, however, became manifestly the policy of the government of this country, especially before the establishment of a large royal navy, to encourage merchants and other adventurers to fit out armed ships with a view to their harassing the enemy. Accordingly we find the original design of the letters of Marque and Reprisal extended, and Commissions issued to merchants and owners of ships authorizing them to make captures of the vessels and cargoes belonging to the enemy; the prizes so taken, with certain deductions, becoming the property of the captors. Commissions of this nature were very frequently issued in Elizabeth's reign, and, as stated in the text, the Queen herself did not hesitate to join in many of the adventures so undertaken.

It would appear that the waiver by the Crown of its privilege to prizes in favour of those subjects holding commissions, induced many adventurers to furnish forth vessels without obtaining the necessary licence from the Crown; for in the year 1605-6 an Order in Council, dated 6th March, was issued, specifically declaring that all enemy's ships and goods casually met at sea and seized by any vessel not commissioned should belong to the Lord High Admiral. (Pritchard's Admiralty Digest, p. 147.)

In later times the Lords of the Admiralty have been empowered in time of war by various Acts of Parliament, and sometimes by proclamation of the Sovereign in council, to grant commissions, which still bear the name of letters of Marque and Reprisal, to the owners of ships, and the prizes captured by them have been directed to be divided between such owners, the captains and crews of the vessels paying only the customary duties to the Crown. In order, however, to guard as much as possible against piratical spoliation or clandestine fraud by these privateers, the law of England, since the reign of Charles II., has required that, before any division is made, the ships and goods captured shall be condemned in the Court of Admiralty as a "lawful prize."

<sup>a</sup> Raleigh to Lord Burghley. Strype, vol. iv. p. 182.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Letter from Raleigh to the Lord Treasurer, printed in Strype's Annals, Ox. ed. 1824, vol. iv. p. 181.

held commission as General or Admiral, and Sir John Burgh<sup>a</sup> was appointed Lieutenant-General or Vice-Admiral.

The fleet consisted of the following ships, as appears by a letter from Captain Crosse, the commander of the "Foresight,"<sup>b</sup> to Sir Robert Cecil, dated 29th April, 1592 :

|   |   |                                       |
|---|---|---------------------------------------|
| Queen's ships.  | { | The Garland, Admiral, 300 men.        |
|   | { | The Foresight, Vice-Admiral, 180 men. |
| The Alcedo, of the burden of 400 tons, Rear-Admiral, 180 men. |   |                                       |
| The Roebucke, 250 tons [Sir John Burrowes' ship], 160 men.    |   |                                       |
| The Great Susan, 350 tons, 180 men.                           |   |                                       |
| The Susan Bonaventure, 250 tons, 160 men.                     |   |                                       |
| The Gallyan Rawleigh, 250 tons, 160 men.                      |   |                                       |
| The Dayntyte, <sup>c</sup> 200 tons, 100 men.                 |   |                                       |
| The Lyon's Whelpe, 100 tons, 50 men.                          |   |                                       |
| The Sunne, 120 tons, 60 men.                                  |   |                                       |
| The Black Dogg, 120 tons, 60 men.                             |   |                                       |
| The Margaret and John, 200 tons, 120 men.                     |   |                                       |
| The Larke, a pinnace, 40 tons, 20 men.                        |   |                                       |
| The Darlinge, a pinnace, 16 men.                              |   |                                       |
| The Adrian, a pinnace, 16 men.                                |   |                                       |
| The Wrenn, a pinnace, 10 men.                                 |   |                                       |

The expedition, which was ready for sea in February, was detained in Plymouth Harbour by adverse winds for many weeks, so that, says Hakluyt,<sup>d</sup> the fittest season for Sir Walter's purpose was gone, "the mindes of his people much altered, his victuals consumed, and withall her Majesty, vnderstanding how crosly all this sorted, began to call the proceeding of this preparation into question; in so much that, whereas the sixt of May was first come before Sir Walter could put to sea, the

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Burgh was a younger son of William fourth Baron Burgh or Borough by his wife Katharine, daughter of Edward Clinton, ninth Baron Clinton and first Earl of Lincoln, K.G., and Lord Admiral of England. Sir John was twice knighted, first by the Earl of Leicester in the Netherlands, and secondly by King Henry IV. of France. His attacks upon the enemy's ships were not always attended with so successful a result as that in the narrative, for two years afterwards (17th March, 1594) in an attempt to capture a Spanish carrack he was killed, being then in the 32nd year of his age. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where, in St. Andrew's Chapel, a tablet with a Latin inscription records his exploits, and the manner of his death.

<sup>b</sup> Printed from the original at Hatfield in Murdin's State Papers, fo. Lond. 1759, p. 653.

<sup>c</sup> See note, p. 225.

<sup>d</sup> Hakluyt, ed. 1599, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 194-5.



very next day Sir Martin Frobisher, in a pinnesse of my Lord Admiral's<sup>a</sup> called the *Disdaine*, met him, and brought to him from her Majesty letters of revocation, with commandement to relinquish (for his owne part) the intended attempt, and to leave the charge and conduct of all things in the hands of Sir John Burgh and Sir Martin Frobisher."

The recall of Raleigh has not been satisfactorily explained. Mr. Tytler<sup>b</sup> intimates that it was in consequence of the Queen having discovered that he had carried on an intrigue with—if indeed he had not privately married—Miss Elizabeth Throgmorton, daughter to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and one of her Majesty's maids of honour. A Letter of the 10th March, 1592, from Sir Walter Raleigh to Sir Robert Cecil, which is printed in Murrin's State Papers,<sup>c</sup> negatives Mr. Tytler's suggestion, as well as the reason assigned by Hakluyt. It does not perhaps give a clue to the real cause of Sir Walter's return, but it proves that it was privately arranged two months before-hand between the Queen and Raleigh. "I have promised her Majestie," he writes, "that, if I can perswade the Companies to follow Sir Marten Furbresher, I will without fail returne, and bringe them but into the sea but sune fifty or thriscore leagues, for which purpose my Lord Admirall hath lent me the *Disdayne*, which to do, her Majestie many tymes, with great grace, bedd mee remember, and sent mee the same message by Will. Killegrewe, which, God willinge, if I can perswade the Cumpanies, I mean to performe, though I dare not be acknown thereof to any creature."

Notwithstanding the Letter of Revocation, of which, says Hakluyt, Raleigh made "construction in such sort as if the Queen's Commandment had been propounded in indifferent terms, either to advance forward, or to retire, at his own discretion," Sir Walter continued his course. After a few days he met with a ship lately come from Spain belonging to Monsieur Gourdown, Governor of Calais, from a passenger on board which he learnt that the king of Spain had sent express to the Indies, forbidding that any treasure should be shipped that year for Spain. Notwithstanding this information Raleigh proceeded until, on the 11th May, off Cape Finisterre, the expedition was overtaken by a severe tempest, immediately after which, finding the season of the year too far gone to proceed with the intended design upon Panama, he returned to England. Mr. Tytler adds<sup>d</sup> that "the moment Sir Walter set his foot ashore he and his mistress were committed to the Tower." This appears to be an error. The precise

<sup>a</sup> The well known Charles Howard, K.G., second Baron Howard of Effingham, and created in 1597 Earl of Nottingham, ob. 1624.

<sup>b</sup> Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, 5th ed. 1844, p. 118.

<sup>c</sup> Ed. 1759, p. 663.

<sup>d</sup> Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 119.



time of Raleigh's arrival in England does not appear ; but we may assume, if the date of the eleventh May, given by Hakluyt, is correct, that it was previous to July, and he was not committed to the Tower until *after* the 30th of that month, as appears from a letter quoted by Birch,<sup>a</sup> from Sir Edward Stafford to Mr. Anthony Bacon, dated at Drury House, July 30th, 1592, as follows : " If you have any thing to do with Sir Walter Raleigh, or any love to make to Mrs. Throckmorton, at the Tower to-morrow you may speak with them, if the countermand come not to-night which some think will not be, and particularly he that hath charge to send them thither."

Before leaving the fleet the Admiral divided it into two squadrons : one under the command of Sir Martin Frobisher, in the "Garland," was directed to watch the Spanish coast,<sup>b</sup> whilst the other, under Sir John Burgh, was stationed near the Azores.<sup>c</sup> Previous to the separation of the fleet they encountered a Biscayan ship

<sup>a</sup> Birch's *Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, 4to. 1754, vol. i. p. 79.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Letter from Frobisher to Lord Burghley. Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 30. Hakluyt, vol. ii. part ii. p. 195.

<sup>c</sup> It is not very clear what division of the ships took place, but the following is as perfect a list as I can furnish :

| SIR JOHN BURGH'S SQUADRON.                      |                                 |                       |
|---|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Name.</i>                                    | <i>Owner.</i>                   | <i>Captain.</i>       |
| The "Foresight."                                | The Queen.                      | Captain Crosse.       |
| The "Roebuck."                                  | Sir W. Raleigh.                 | Sir John Burgh.       |
| The "Dainty."                                   | Sir John Hawkins.               | Thomas Thompson.      |
| The two following subsequently joined consort : |                                 |                       |
| The "Golden Dragon."                            | John Moore and others.          | Christopher Newport.  |
| The "Prudence."                                 | Merchant Adventurers of London. | Hugh Merrick.         |
| SIR MARTIN FROBISHER'S SQUADRON.                |                                 |                       |
| The "Garland."                                  | Queen's Ship.                   | Sir Martin Frobisher. |
| The "Susan Bonaventure."                        | Alderman Saltanstalle.          | Captain Thynn.        |
| The gallion "Rawleigh."                         | Mr. Carew Raleigh.              | Captain Middleton.    |
| The "Margaret and John."                        | John Watts.                     | Captain Graynveile.   |
| The "Alcedo."                                   | "                               | George Gifford.       |
| The "Lyon's Whelp."                             | The Lord Admirall.              | Captain Maunswell.    |

These ships were also at the capture of the Carrack :

|                       |                           |                 |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| The "Tiger."          | } The Earl of Cumberland. | Captain Norton. |
| The "Sampson."        |                           |                 |
| The "Grace of Dover." |                           |                 |
| The "Phenex."         |                           |                 |
| The "Discovery."      |                           |                 |

sailing for the West Indies, freighted with all sorts of iron work. The ship was taken "after a reasonable hot fight," and sent, together with its cargo, valued at 6000*l.* or 7000*l.* to England.<sup>a</sup> On the 26th July Sir John Burgh and his squadron touched at Flores, one of the Western Islands, where he met with two ships of the Port of London, one being the "Golden Dragon," a new ship of 180 tons burthen, on her first voyage, having on board 81 seamen, commanded by Christopher Newport, and the other being the "Prudence," of London, 100 tons burthen, with a crew of 46 men, and commanded by Hugh Merrick, which vessels<sup>b</sup> had arrived at the island on the preceding day for water, and "vppon an intended purpose to tarrye there for purchase."<sup>c</sup> With these two ships Burgh entered into a consortment, dated 28th July 1592. A certified copy of this document is preserved in Lansd. MS. No. 74, art. 20, and of which the following is a transcript :

"Be it knowen vnto all men by theis p̄nts, that I S<sup>r</sup> John Burrowes, Knihte, and by vertue of her Ma<sup>ty</sup>s Commission, Generall of a flect appoynted for the Seas, haue consorted, covenanted, and agreed, and by theis p̄nts doe consorte, covenante, and agree to and w<sup>th</sup> Chrystopher Newporte, Capitayne of the Goulden Dragon, of London, a shippe of the borthen of 180 Tonne, for himselfe, and on shipp more of his consortshipp called the Prudence, of the sayde cittye of London, beinge of the burthen of 100 Tonne, To haue, possesse, and enioye, and to be p'taker with me, my flecte, and I with them, of all suche lawfull pryse and pryses as shalbe taken by me or them, or any of vs jointelie or seuerally, in sighte, or oute of sighte, Tynne for Tynne, and man for man, from the daye of the date hereof vntill the Tenthe daye of September nexte and Imediatelie ensuinge the date of theis p̄nts. In Witnesse whereof, I have caused this Bill to be made, and haue sett my hande and Seale, this p̄nte xxvij<sup>th</sup> of Julie, An<sup>o</sup> Regni Regine Elizabethhe Tricessimo Quarto An<sup>o</sup> Dm<sup>o</sup> 1592."

This partnership was no doubt effected by Sir John with the view of strengthening his force for an attack on the Portuguese East India squadron on their return to Europe, of the probable arrival of which he appears to have received notice.<sup>d</sup> On the day following the date of the "consortment," a Portuguese carrack, called the

<sup>a</sup> Hakluyt, ed. 1599, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 195.

<sup>b</sup> These two vessels, together with a third ship and a pinnace, set sail from Dover Roads on the 12th February, 1591-2. A narrative of the adventures of the expedition will be found in "Hakluyt," ed. 1600, p. 567.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 96 ; ib. No. 115, art. 90, being a statement delivered to Lord Burghley by the owners of the "Golden Dragon" and "Prudence," of the services rendered by those ships at the taking of the Carrack ; as also a petition to Sir Robert Cecil and Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to whom the Lord Treasurer appears to have referred the claim which the owners made for a share of the prize.

<sup>d</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 98. Sir John Burgh states that he received letters from the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Admiral by Captain Ellis to stay about the islands for the intercepting of the carracks.



"Santa Cruz," chased by a ship belonging to the Earl of Cumberland,<sup>a</sup> came in sight of Burgh, who, in the Roebuck, was lying on the eastern side of the island of Flores. The carrack, finding her escape thus intercepted by Burgh, bore in directly for the land, and cast anchor. The Earl's and Sir John's ships both came up and anchored, intending to board their anticipated prize, but, before they were able to put their plans into execution, foul weather ensued, and the cruisers were driven to sea. Upon the storm subsiding, the crew of the Santa Cruz, observing the Earl's ship again bearing down upon them, disembarked as much as they could of the lading, and then set their vessel on fire. The English were thus disappointed of their expected prey; but two circumstances connected with the affair of the Santa Cruz were of considerable after moment: first, the junction of Sir John Burgh's fleet with the Earl of Cumberland's five ships; and, second, intelligence which was obtained from the purser of the burnt vessel that three larger carracks were steering the same course as the Santa Cruz, having orders from the king of Spain to touch at the islands of Flores or Corvo, in expectation of meeting with an escort of war-ships, which he had promised to send. This intention of the king was frustrated, as it subsequently appeared, by the necessity he was under of watching that division of Raleigh's fleet commanded by Sir Martin Frobisher, which was cruising off the Spanish coast.<sup>b</sup> Immediately on obtaining the important information as to the probable near approach of the carracks, arrangements were made to secure the prizes. The fleet was so disposed as to command the greatest range of vision, and on the 3d August, 1592, one of the three carracks came in sight. This was the "Madre de Dios," a vessel of immense size, returning from Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, to Lisbon. She belonged to the crown of Portugal, but was commanded by a cadet of a Spanish family, Don Fernando de Mendoza, who having "married into Portugall, lived there as one of that nation; a gentleman well stricken in yeeres, well spoken, of comely personage, of good stature, but of hard fortune." According to the descriptions that have come down to us, the Carrack was more like a floating house seven stories high than any existing specimen of naval architecture. She is stated by Hakluyt,<sup>c</sup> on the authority of Mr. Adams, "a man in his faculty of excellent skill," who made a survey of her, to have been in length from "the beak-head to the sterne (whereupon was erected a lanterne)" 165 feet, and of the breadth in the widest part 46 feet 10 inches. That she carried 7 several stories, one main orlop, three close decks, one forecastle and a spar deck of two floors a piece; the length of the keel

<sup>a</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 91. Ib. art. 98.

<sup>b</sup> Letter from Frobisher to Lord Burghley. Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 30.

<sup>c</sup> Hakluyt, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 198-9.



100 feet; of the main mast 121 feet; of the main yard 106 feet; and the circuit about at the partners 10 feet 7 inches; and that on her departure from Cochin she drew 31 feet of water, but on her arrival at Dartmouth only 26 feet, "being lightened in her voyage by diuers meanes some 5 foote."

This immense ship, which was of 1600 tons burthen, and had on board between 700 and 800 persons, was captured after a long engagement, various particulars of which are related in the Naval Histories of the time. Sir John Burgh's account of the capture was conveyed to Lord Burghley in a letter,<sup>a</sup> in which he writes:—

"Vppon the 3<sup>d</sup> of this moneth [i. e. August 1592], we mett w<sup>t</sup> [the carrack], and fowght w<sup>t</sup> her from tenn of the clock in the morning tyll one or two at nyght. . . . As for the Shypp shee is very rytehe, but mutch spoyled by the sodiers being entred by force, and to w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>t</sup> was not possible for me to geiue order not of a long tyme, for that the Erle of Cumberlands<sup>b</sup> men stooode vppon theyr Lords Coñysion, and therby challendged as great a coñiaundment as I, notwithstanding that I mayde yt knowen to the Chiefe of them that I was ioined in her M<sup>ties</sup> Coñmission w<sup>t</sup> Sr Martyn Furbyssher. I have nowe taken possession of her in her M<sup>ties</sup> name and ryght, and I hope, for all the spoyle that has beine mayde, her M<sup>ty</sup> shall receyve more proffyt by her then by any shipp that ever came into England."

The Earl of Cumberland did not allow the account given by Sir John Burgh to pass unchallenged. In a statement made by him,<sup>c</sup> he alleges, (of course on the information of the captains of his ships, for he was not personally present,) that "the 'Roe Buck,' Sir John Burrough's ship, having got a leak by shot from the Carrick," and the "Daintye" having been disabled, the "Foresighte" "about viij of the

<sup>a</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 27 (printed in Wright's Court of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 418.)

<sup>b</sup> It need scarcely be stated that the Earl of Cumberland who has been before referred to, and is here mentioned by Sir John Burgh, was George Clifford, K.G. third Earl of that family. He had applied himself to sea-service, and in some of his adventures was assisted by the Queen. In the *Fœdera* (edit. 1727, vol. xvi. p. 208) there will be found a commission granted 28 May 1593, empowering him to collect ships' companies and appoint captains, and to take up, levy arms, and victual ships, against the King of Spain; and he was authorised to take under his command two of the Queen's ships, the Golden Lion and the Elizabeth Bonadventure, and such other ships of his own and others as he should appoint, not exceeding six in number. In all prizes that might be taken in this expedition the Earl had absolute authority given to him to agree with parties willing to adventure with him in the expedition, and also to make distribution amongst the adventurers of the prizes which should be taken, "saving so much as shall apperteyne to us in the right of the tonne and tonnage of our said twoe shippes, with the privitie and allowance of our Highe Tresorer and our High Admirall of England, proportionalle with the rest of the fleete aforesaide, and all other ducties and customes due unto us upon all goodes brought into any of our domynions." On other occasions, as on the present, the expedition was conducted solely at the Earl's cost and risk. He was one of the parties named in the charter issued for the incorporation of the first East India Company. Vide ante, p. 209.

<sup>c</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 91.

clocke in the eveninge fell aboorde the Carrick, (and) remained a certain space without any possibilitie or hope to take her, she goeing in directly w<sup>th</sup> the Ilande w<sup>th</sup> all her sailes drawinge, and the Foresight also being fastned vnto her, and not any way able to gett from her vntill the coming up of (the Earles) shippes, w<sup>ch</sup> was about x<sup>m</sup> of the clocke, who presentlie laid the Carrieke aboorde on bothe sides and entred iij<sup>c</sup>.lx men at the least, and, after some fight and losse of men, not only surprised and tooke her but also rescued the Foresight, and so became possessed of her," and that, "about xii of the clocke" the next day, they met again with Sir John, "who then came aboorde in his skyffe, and then took upon him the charge of her to answeare all."

The conclusion of the Earl's statement is, that there was no legal consortment between his ships and those with Sir John Burgh, inasmuch as the Earl's chief commander had no "authoritie to make any consorte;" and that, being the "taker," he was entitled to the entire profits of the prize; in support of which view the Earl quotes the opinion of his "counsaille, and the resolucon of seamen and captaines by their experience."

Sir John Burgh's reply <sup>a</sup> to the case stated by the Earl. alleges the beginning of the fight by the "Roebuck," the "Daynty," and the "Dragon," about one of the clock in the afternoon (a variation, be it observed, from his previous statement), and that it continued until between 9 and 10 that night, when the Roebuck laid the Carrack aboard, and, amongst divers shot, she received one between "wynd and water," which obliged her to lay to, to stop the leak which it occasioned. He proceeds to allege, that the "Foresight" was sufficiently powerful to prevent the Carrack making the land between which and the ship the Roebuck lay; and he concludes:

"There are but 3 wayes for the Erle to helpe hymselffe; the first as a Taker, w<sup>ch</sup> is most absurd, as theyse former reasons do express. The second as a Consorter, w<sup>ch</sup> as he hym selffe doth denye that his men had no authority, so, yf he had, yt must be to no other effect then, acording to my instructions by w<sup>ch</sup> my Coñyssion was limyted, w<sup>ch</sup> was in syght and owt of syght, and therefor as a Consorter not to be helpped for any reward as a hellper. I thus conclude that he rather marred all then helpped, for when her way was altered from shoare irrecoverable, and that the nyght had parted some of vs, and my leake myselfe, yf he had not, contrary to all order, entred in the nyght for greedynes of the best spoyle, we had met in the morning and geiven an honest account of her, being strong inough to have done yt of ovr selves, seing the Foresyght alone lay quyetly by her and she offered not a stroak."

The Captain of the "Golden Dragon," in the narrative <sup>b</sup> he gives of the capture, supports the statement made by Sir John Burgh as to the first attack being made

<sup>a</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 98.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. art. 96.

by the "Roebuck," "Dainty," and "Dragon," which vessels he states fought with the Carrack "three long hours" before any other ships came to their aid. Not one word, however, does Captain Newport mention of the assistance given by the Earl of Cumberland's ships. Each party seems to have been bent on making out the best story he could in support of his own case, with no very great regard for the actual facts as they occurred.

Whatever the merits were, it is clear that the Earl of Cumberland was at a considerable disadvantage in supporting the position he had taken as to his legal rights, inasmuch as, if he had been admitted as the "taker," the Queen's profits would have been very seriously affected. That the Earl had some substantial claim is evident, from the fact that he was subsequently awarded a sum of 18,000*l.* on account of the profit of the prize.<sup>a</sup>

Besides the actual lading of the Carrack, which consisted of spices, rice, silks, and calicoes, there was on board an infinite variety of costly articles of jewellery, plate, and china. As soon as she was taken, a general pillage ensued. Every officer and man in the whole fleet betook himself to secure whatever he could for himself. As in the case of a town taken by storm, the "Madre de Dios" was for a time given up to what was considered by the crews of the victorious ships their rightful "pillage." So eager, indeed, were the men after plunder, that they were nearly losing everything by their negligence. It was evening before the prize was taken, and each man, says Purchas,<sup>b</sup> lighted a candle to seek for spoil; by accident a cabin was fired in which were 600 cartridges of powder, and, but for the presence of mind of Captain Norton and some of the men, this Carrack would have shared the same fate as the "Santa Cruz." As may readily be supposed, disputes and contentions ensued amongst the captors, which Sir John Burgh put an end to, by taking possession, in the Queen's name, of the vessel and so much of its contents as had not been made away with.

After a stormy and dangerous passage the huge prize arrived at Dartmouth on the 8th September, 1592.

When the Queen joined in an "adventure" she took upon herself the division of the spoil. On the present occasion she issued a Commission,<sup>c</sup> whereby, after setting forth that, in order to have a due examination made of the prizes sent to England, to the intent that she might be duly answered of such benefit thereby as might or ought to grow of right unto her, with like intent that the Lord Admiral, Sir Walter

<sup>a</sup> Vide Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 94; also Lansd. MS. No. 115, art. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Ed. fo. Lond. 1925, vol. iv. p. 1145.

<sup>c</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 26.



Raleigh, the citizens of London, and such other of her subjects as had adventured their ships, goods, or persons in the voyage should have their portions, Commissioners were appointed on behalf of herself and her fellow adventurers, who were authorised "to make sale and Reþtiçon, devidinge and deliveringe to everie adventurer their full, juste, and proporcionable þte accordinge to their adventures, with payinge of maryners' wages, other wages, freightes, and all manner of coste, coostomes, duties, and charges forthe of the said prize goods;" and a Treasurer was appointed to receive all moneys made upon sale, &c., and, upon the warrant of any four, three, or two of the Commissioners, to pay, disburse, divide, and deliver as aforesaid.

Immediately on the arrival of the Carrack the Commissioners appointed for her examination reported the fact to Lord Burghley. In their letter<sup>a</sup> they complain of great confusions and disorders amongst the men of war, and "such spoiles comitted by them that we know not howe to redresse it" The plunder, from all accounts, must have been enormous; everything moveable had been appropriated. Jewels, plate, precious stones, all the varied articles of barbaric magnificence, which flowed into Europe from the East, had disappeared. As the ships arrived in England, every man hurried ashore to dispose of his share of the general spoil. "Port-sales" were made of diamonds, rubies, musk, ambergris, and all other commodities.<sup>b</sup> Nothing remained to be divided among the adventurers but the actual cargo. The share of pillage which the seamen had secured was of course of little avail to them, as they either sold the goods "in effect for nothing," or they were cheated out of them. The Towne of Gosport (writes Mr. Richard May, the Clerk to the Commissioners)<sup>c</sup> "for 4 or 5 days presented an equall concourse w<sup>th</sup> Bartholomew Faire; (and) one Warner, a Billingsgate man, as I tak him, kept all that time a Grocer's warehowse in that Towne, who bought cloves for xij<sup>d</sup>. the pound, and sold them again for 5<sup>s</sup>. the pound, and all sorts of other goods after the like rate, eũy night making newe supply w<sup>th</sup> the retorne of his money."

The merchants who were partners in the adventure complained, through Sir John Burgh, to Lord Burghley of the abuses which were daily occurring to the great spoil of the prize;<sup>d</sup> and the fact of the plunder which had been committed having come from all quarters to the Treasurer's knowledge,

<sup>a</sup> Lansd MS. No. 70, art. 32.

<sup>b</sup> Letter from Raleigh to the Lord Treasurer, dated 17th Sept. 1592, printed in Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 178.

<sup>c</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 35. Letter from Richard May to the Lord Treasurer, dated 10th Sept. 1592.

<sup>d</sup> *Ib.* art. 33.

measures were taken to prevent the continuance of the disorders, and to recover so much of the pillaged goods as had been landed in England. The Queen's proclamation<sup>a</sup> was issued, commanding all manner of persons that had taken or received any manner of goods of any value out of the Carrack, either whilst she was on the seas, or since her coming into the haven of Dartmouth, though the same had been taken in the name of pillage (which, the proclamation stated, was not lawful to be done by the laws of the realm and the laws of the sea, until the whole lading was brought into port), within ten days after publication of the proclamation to deliver up the said goods, or to shew where and to whom the same had been sold or delivered. And further setting forth, that all persons having any claim for their adventure would lose all benefit if they had taken any thing without giving proof to the Commissioners. The proclamation added, that, in order that the mariners and soldiers that had adventured about the taking of the said Carrack should not be discouraged in withdrawing from them that which lawfully was to be accompted pillage, her Majesty minded that upon first discovery to the Commissioners of that which had been taken by name of pillage, the same should be considered how far it was to be judged as pillage,<sup>b</sup> and thereof should have allowance besides their due wages, with all lawful favour.

Orders from the Council were sent to Portsmouth, Plymouth, and all the ports, to search the ships which should arrive "without respect of person." Sir John Hawkins, the Treasurer of the Navy, and himself one of the adventurers, wrote the Lord Treasurer that he had "specyall good waytt layd" in London for anything that came either by water or land, and that all vessels passing Deptford or Graves-

<sup>a</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 49, being a copy of the proclamation which was "geven at the citie of Oxenford the xxij daie of September, 1592."

<sup>b</sup> The allowance of "pillage" appears to have been of ancient practice both in this and other countries. The Admiralty Ordinances of France of May 1584, quoted in Robinson's *Collectanea Maritima*, 8vo. Lond. 1801, [page 115,] recognise it in the 45th article, which declares, "que nulle chose pourra estre dit *pillage*, qui excede la valeur de dix escus." The right to "pillage" is also admitted by the following article from "The Black Book of the Admiralty:" "Item.—En cas que aucune nef ou vessell enemy soit pris par aucune de nostre flote, adonques les preneurs auront a leurs cepts toutes maneres des biens et harnois trouvez sur les haches, ou sur le tilat, ou ca'fatour des ditz vaisseaulx, et aussi tousiours sauvees les aumiens customes et usages de mer." Lansd. MS. No. 318, p. 151. Hargrave MS. No. 185, p. 10. In the reign of Charles II. (anno 1661), an Act was passed for the better regulation and discipline of the Navy, in which the right of pillage is incidentally mentioned, the Act directing "that nothing shall be taken out of a prize ship till condemned; that an entire account shall be given of the whole without fraud, on pain of such punishment as the Court Marshall or Admiralty Court shall inflict, *except every thing above the gun deck*" but arms, ammunition, tackle, furniture or stores, which are not to be touched.

<sup>c</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 43.

end were searched. Warrants<sup>a</sup> were issued to the bailiffs of the hundreds in the neighbourhood of the western sea-ports, reciting that there was great cause for her Majesty's service that all "passagers should be stopped, and that all trunekes, carriers' packes, hampers, cloakbagges, portmantues, and fardells that are likely to have in them any part of the goods latelie arrived in the port of Dartmouthe or Plymouth, in a Spanish Carrocke, brought in by the Queen's shipping, should be stayed and searched;" and directing that no persons of what condition soever be allowed to pass with any such goods, without certificate from the prize Commissioners.

In the meantime the Commissioners proceeded with their duties. They appear to have commenced by an examination of the Portuguese who had been brought to England in the Carraek, and from whom the following depositions<sup>b</sup> were taken:

"Exaŋiaçõs taken of suche Portingalls as weare brought in the Carriek to Dartmouthe, and there exained before Sr Fraunces Drake, Knyght, Wilŋm Killigrew, Esquier, and John Bland, the x<sup>th</sup> and xi<sup>th</sup> daie of Septembr 1592.

1. Vincenti de Fontesecco, of Lishbone, purser of the Carriek called the Sancta Cruce, that was burnt at flores, Saieth, That, the xii<sup>th</sup> of January last past there came from Coehene five Carrieks in Company all together, But in short time they loste companie one of an other.

2. This Carriek de Sancta Cruce came in the sight of St Elena, and towched at no place vntil they came to Corva, beinge so comanded by the King vppon payne of deathe; and that there was in this Carriek nowe taken, named the Mother of God (as he remēbreth), these goods following:

vij<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup> Kintalls<sup>c</sup> of Pepper. [Note in Lord Burghley's handwriting,] 'A Kyntall may be worth xij<sup>o</sup> at ij<sup>o</sup> 6<sup>o</sup>.'

ix<sup>o</sup> Kyntalls of Cloves. ['A Kyt vj.']

vij<sup>o</sup> Kyntalls of Synamon.

v<sup>o</sup> Kyntalls of Anneale.

L Kyntalls Maces.

L Kyntalls Nuttmeggs.

L Kyntalls Beniamyn.

And about iij<sup>o</sup> Chests of other m̄chandize.

"And he supposeth there might be in the said Carriek in Stones, P<sup>les</sup>, Amber, and Muske, to the value of iijj<sup>o</sup> crusados.—Whereof there might be brought by John Curreo de Britto, Govenor of Zeland, to the value of Lx<sup>m</sup> crusados; and by the Capten of this Carriek, named Fernando de Mendoza, good store of Stones, Amber, and Muske, besids two great crosses, and one other great jewell of Dyamonds, w<sup>ch</sup> the Viceroy sent for a p<sup>s</sup>ent to the K. w<sup>ch</sup> weare of

<sup>a</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 46.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. art. 36.

<sup>c</sup> "Quintal," a weight in France and Germany of 100 pounds avoirdupois; in England 112.



great value, and that the merchants in the said Carrick had also good store of Stones, P<sup>l</sup>es, Muske & Amber.

"The Viceroy, named Manuel de Sui-sacutineo, w<sup>th</sup> his wief and children, came in a Carreck named the Bon Jesus, and that he was sent for by the K's comandem<sup>t</sup>, as one in disgreace.

"Anthonio Pienero, Anthonio Fernando, Petro Fernando, and Emanuel Viera, of Lishbone, maryñs, do saie and affirme, that there weare brought in this Carrick, being taken, but onelie vij Portingall maryñs, one guñer, & two boies.

"They saie further, that there weare taken in the said Carriek five Gen<sup>t</sup> passingers, whereof two of them had bene Governo<sup>r</sup>s in the Indcas, whose names weare John Curreo de Britto, of the Isle of Zeland, the other Clarentio de Britto, of Musstambeck, and that the other three weare bounde towards the K. to seeke for offices; of w<sup>ch</sup> five, two of them weare Knights.

"They further saie, that there weare in the said Carriek about viij or x marchants, of w<sup>ch</sup> some of them weare very riche, and that eu<sup>y</sup> of the said Gen<sup>t</sup> & m<sup>r</sup>chants had some Jewells, as Rubies, P<sup>l</sup>es, & suche like, some more, some lesse. The w<sup>ch</sup> they do co<sup>m</sup>onlie putt in their chests vppon the upper Decks of the shippe, that at their coming home they may the better convey them secretlie a land.

"They saie also, that there was laden in the said Carrick some iij<sup>e</sup> cheests of marchandize, viij<sup>m</sup> v<sup>e</sup> Kyntalls of Pepper, about ij<sup>e</sup> pipes of Cloves, v<sup>e</sup> Kintalls of Anneale, ij<sup>e</sup> fardells of Synamon, & such like. Of Nuttmeggs and Mace, they knowe not what quantitie, but some there was of bothe; and xv Tunnes of Ebony Wall; But howe much thereof is now lefte they knowe not. nether w<sup>ch</sup> of the English Shippes made the greatest spoyle thereof.

"They saie also, that the Purser of this Carrick, w<sup>ch</sup> was sett a shore, had a booke of the Lading of the Carrick, but what is become thereof they knowe not.

"FRA. DRAKE, WILLM. KILLYGREWE, JOHN BLAND."

This examination was forwarded<sup>a</sup> to the Lord Treasurer, with an intimation that "two of the men of best discretion" should be sent for further examination by his Lordship. The Commissioners also reported, that as yet they had not discovered who had obtained the jewels mentioned by Vincente Fontseco; but that they had taken all good means to preserve the Carrack, and the ships which came in with her, from further spoil, and that they had appointed Mr. Pator, with the mayor of Plymouth, "to take the like order w<sup>th</sup> my L. of Cumberlandes Shippes that be still at Plymouth." The Commissioners add their opinion, that the goods should be immediately transported in other ships to London, "where no doubt (notwithstanding the sickness)<sup>b</sup> some convenient places may be found out to bestow them safely."

The captain and passengers mentioned in the depositions of the Portuguese had, it appears, been furnished with a small ship from the Earl of Cumberland's fleet, with

<sup>a</sup> See Letter, MSS. Lansd. No. 70, art. 42

<sup>b</sup> The plague was about this time raging so much in London that the Queen issued a proclamation, prohibiting the keeping of Bartholomew Fair, and limiting the time for the sale of horses, &c. in Smithfield.—*Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 213.

liberty to proceed where they pleased; and were allowed to take with them a portion of their moveable personal goods; but this liberality was of little avail to them, for, says Purchas,<sup>a</sup> "they escaped not a second rifling by other English men of warr, which took from them (thus negligently dismissed) 900 diamonds, besides other odde ends." The Carraek, in addition to her crew and passengers, had on board a large number of negroes, who were, under the General's direction, landed at the island of Corvo.

The questions and difficulties arising upon the investigation of the matters relating to the prize, appeared to the Lord Treasurer important enough to require the aid and countenance of his son Sir Robert Cecil, who was accordingly despatched to Dartmouth. He arrived at Greenway (then the seat of the Gilbert family and situate near the town of Dartmouth) on the night of the 19th September 1592. He immediately summoned the Commissioners, who, though "in bedde" when his messenger reached them, attended forthwith, and received special instructions to make a strict search in the town of Dartmouth for secreted spoils. The Commissioners, seeing the advantage of having the personal countenance of the Lord Treasurer's son, also applied to his lordship, that he would be "a means unto her Majesty" that Sir Robert might continue there, "as well for our discharge in a matter of suche confusion as specially for the reducing of all things into good order, and the better satisfying the Company's unreasonable demandes under the name of their pillage." In the same letter they mention that Sir Robert intended on the morrow [20th Sept.] to inspect the Carrack, and examine some marriners' chests, until Sir Walter Raleigh's coming, "who we expected p'sentlie."<sup>b</sup>

Sir Walter, who was partially released from his confinement with a view to this business, reached Dartmouth, as anticipated, on the 20th September. This arrival is described in an interesting letter from Sir Robert Cecil, preserved in the State Paper Office, and printed in the Appendix to Mrs. Thomson's "Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Raleigh."<sup>c</sup>

"As soon as I came on boarde the Carieck," he says, "on Wednesday at one of clock, with the rest of her Majesty's commissioners, within one halfe houre Sir Walter Raleigh arrived with hys keper Mr. Blunt; I assure you, sir, hys poore servants, to the number of 140 goodly men, and all the mariners, came to him with such shouts and joy as I never saw a man more troubled to quiet them in my life. But his hart is broken, for he is very extreemly pensive longer than he is busied, in

<sup>a</sup> Purchas' Pilgrims, fo. ed. Lond. 1625, vol. iv. p. 1145.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Letter to Lord Burghley from Sir Francis Drake, William Killegrew, and Thomas Myddelton, Lansd. MS. 70, art. 44.

<sup>c</sup> 8vo. Lond. 1830, p. 482.

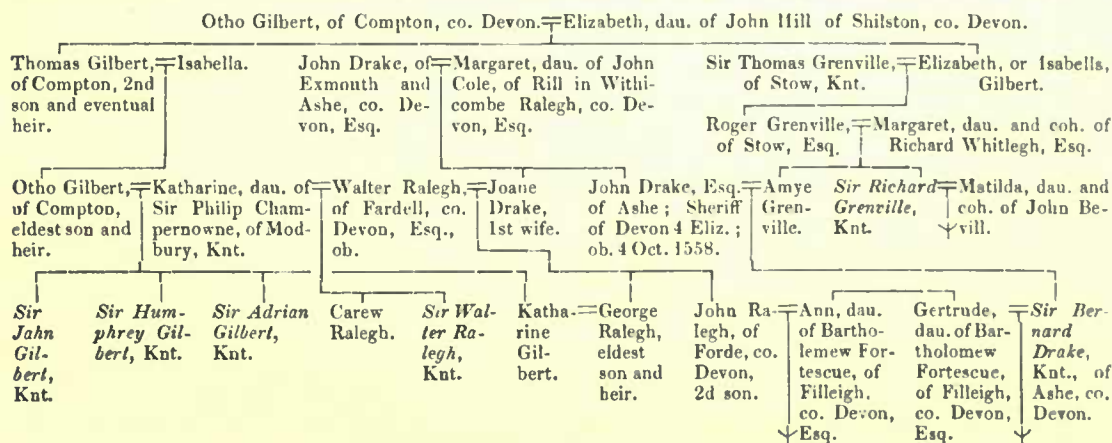
wh<sup>e</sup> he can toil terribly. But if you dyd heare him rage at the spoiles, finding all the short wares utterly devoured, you would laugh, as I do w<sup>n</sup> I can not choose. The meeting betweene him and Sir John Gilbert <sup>a</sup> was with teares on S<sup>r</sup> John's part; and he, belike finding it is knowen he hath a keper, whensoever he is saluted with congratulations for liberty, he doth answer, 'No, I am styll y<sup>e</sup> Queen of England's poore captive.'

"I wished him to conceale it because here it diminisheth his credite, w<sup>h</sup> I do vowe to you before God is greater amongst the mariners than I thoght for. I do grace him as much as I may, for I find him marveilously greedy to do any thing to recover y<sup>e</sup> conceit of his brutish offence."

Mr. Tytler<sup>b</sup> supposes that the Queen was induced to accord to Sir Walter this limited liberty by a well known extravagant letter addressed to Sir Robert Cecil,<sup>c</sup> although intended for the eye of his royal mistress.

The following letter from Sir John Hawkins to the Lord Treasurer appears, however, to have been the real cause of Raleigh's release. Sir John, as before mentioned, was one of the adventurers (being owner of the ship "Dainty")<sup>d</sup> anxious to

<sup>a</sup> The following sketch pedigree (verified by reference to the Devon and Cornwall Visit<sup>s</sup>. in Coll. Arm. marked D 7 and C 1, respectively,) will shew the family connexion existing between Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir John Gilbert, and several of the Devonshire "Sea worthies," who flourished during Elizabeth's reign.



<sup>b</sup> Life of Raleigh, p. 122.

<sup>c</sup> Printed in Murdin's State Papers, page 657.

<sup>d</sup> This ship, which was built by Sir Richard Hawkins, and subsequently purchased of him by his father Sir John Hawkins, was named, on her launching, the "Repentance," and "being put in perfection, and riding at Deptford, the Queenes Majesty passing by her, to her palace of Greenwich, commanded her bargemen to row round about her, and viewing her from post to stemme, disliked nothing but her name, and said that shee would christen her anew, and that henceforth shee should be called the 'Daintie.'" Hawkins' Voyage, A.D. 1593, 8vo. Lond. re-printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1847.



obtain the assistance of Sir Walter as one of the Commissioners for the protection of the interests of the merchant adventurers, and probably thinking that an appeal to the Queen in favour of her co-adventurers would not be attended to, wisely addressed himself to her Majesty's self interest, as will be seen by the following letter,<sup>a</sup> which, so far as I am aware, has not been printed.

" My bownden dew humbly remembryd vnto yo<sup>r</sup> good L'ship. The Carrake now beyng well aryved at Dartmouthe, God be thankyd, The Comissyoners there I doupt not wyll vse all the spede they may to shipp away the goods for London, in the meane tyme yt y<sup>s</sup> very fytt that the charg of the Voiage were gatheryd by some suffieyent and skyllfull p'sons soche as yo<sup>r</sup> L'ship can best appoynt, w<sup>ch</sup> wyll requyre some good tyme to p'forme, and to brynge this well to some good effect,

" S<sup>r</sup> Watter Rawley ys the especyall man that must sattysfye the substance of this accompt, that yt be preparyd and drawen into some order; dyvirs p'sons must repayre vnto hym, & the concourse for the answeyng of many matters wyll draw many together, & suehe as are not fytt to come to the place wher he now ys. I do not p'seve that he hathe done anythyng in his accompts, nor that he hathe any dyspocyeion to do any thyng whyll he ys ther. Therfore yf yt y<sup>t</sup> myght please your Lo'shipp to be a meane to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> that for the tyme he myght be in some other place nere London, y<sup>t</sup> myght very myche sett forward her Ma<sup>ties</sup> service, & myche benyfytte her poreyon, for I se none of so redy a dyspocyeion to lay the grownd howe her Ma<sup>ties</sup> poreyon may be increasyd, as he ys and can best brynge yt abowt; & when the service shalbe p'formyd vppon her Ma<sup>ties</sup> appoyntment & good pleasur, he may be retornyed agayne to the Tower; & thus havyng thought good to say this myche to your Lo'ship onely for the furtherance of her Ma<sup>ties</sup> service, I humbly take my leve. From Deptford, the xj<sup>th</sup> day of Sept. 1592.

" Your LLs humbly bownden,

" JOHN HAWKINS."

This appeal to the Lord Treasurer was (as has been seen) successful. Sir Walter was allowed to leave the Tower, though under the surveillance of Mr. Blunt, as his keeper, and to proceed to Dartmouth.

Whether the "brutish offence," mentioned in Sir Robert Cecil's letter,<sup>b</sup> had reference to anything besides the intrigue with Miss Throgmorton, does not appear. Mrs. Thomson suggests<sup>c</sup> that there were other and deeper sources of offence, and concludes that the Queen's displeasure had some reference to Raleigh's "appropriation of certain prizes which Cecil with other Commissioners was appointed to superintend;" but this could not be; Sir Walter had no opportunity of "appropriating" previous to his arrival at Dartmouth, and there does not seem to have been any

<sup>a</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 39.

<sup>b</sup> Ante, p. 225.

<sup>c</sup> Memoirs of Sir W. Raleigh, p. 92.

suggestion whatever of his having become participator in the pillage which had taken place previous to the arrival of the prize in England.

The Commissioners at Dartmouth, now consisting of Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Drake, Mr. William Killygrewe, Mr. Richard Carmarden, and Mr. Thomas Myddelton, appear to have stirred themselves vigorously in the discharge of their duties. The following letter<sup>a</sup> is a specimen of the very detailed reports which from time to time they made to Lord Burghley :

" Our duties to yo<sup>r</sup> LLs most humblye remembred. Althoughe wee haue no great matter to write to yo<sup>r</sup> LLs, yet the oportunitie of this messenger makes vs bolde to trouble yo<sup>r</sup> Lls, thoughe by our last l<sup>r</sup>es of the xxo<sup>th</sup> wee did aduertize yo<sup>u</sup> of our proceedinges, and desired some vnderstandinge of yo<sup>r</sup> pleasure whether wee shall be thinke vs of vnloading the pepper or no, of w<sup>ch</sup> althoughe wee be not yet come to it by one whole decke, yet woulde wee knowe some parte of yo<sup>r</sup> LLs mynde, because here be diuerse shippes, as the Aleedo and others, being fitt shippes to assure the transportac'on w<sup>ch</sup> woulde (if it were not for this seruice) be gone eastwarde to their own<sup>rs</sup>, who shall loose the benefitt of their setting forthe againe, if here (vppon hope of fraughte) they shoulde be commanded to stay and then be disappointed, of w<sup>ch</sup> for the first point when yo<sup>r</sup> LLs are resolu'd, you may w<sup>th</sup> more deliberac'on aduize to whom it may be solde, w<sup>ch</sup> we leave to yo<sup>r</sup> LLs consideracon. Wee haue examined Cap<sup>m</sup> Crosses brother, whom the messenger wee did send for him did meet on the way betweene Bridgwate<sup>r</sup> and Exete<sup>r</sup>; we haue examined him vppon theise Interrogatories, and finde no more then here is sett downe. S<sup>r</sup> John Boroghe arryved here yesternighte, whose chests voluntarilie he hathe shewed, hearing of our dilligent searche for them in his absence; and thoughe wee finde them no common chests, yet finding in them nether Pearle, Amb<sup>r</sup>, Stone, Jewell, Hanginges, Tapestry, or riche stuffe, we haue lefte them in his owne keping, bothe because he assured vs he had tolde her Ma<sup>tie</sup> of them, and also because wee finde he thinkes himselfe hardlie dealt w<sup>th</sup>all, being her Ma<sup>ty</sup> Generall there, and a Gentleman of qualitie, not to be suffred to choose out and send from himselfe some suche present of them as may be acceptable to her Ma<sup>ty</sup>, to w<sup>ch</sup> wee founde reasone to assent, seing they were nothing in them but certaine China, Taffataes and Damaskes w<sup>th</sup> painted Caffard for Quiltes, some Quiltes of White Callicute sticht, and 2 or 3 parcells of suche white China Taffatae imbrodered w<sup>th</sup> China golde; as M<sup>r</sup>. Candishe<sup>b</sup> broughte home w<sup>th</sup> certaine course gilt boxes, and a bunche of seede pearle. W<sup>th</sup>in 3 or iiij<sup>er</sup> daies wee shalbe able to give some estimat of the state of this Carricke, and wee shall knowe whither the iiij<sup>er</sup> chests spoken of be ether gone

<sup>a</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 59.

<sup>b</sup> The Mr. Candish here referred to was no doubt Mr. Thomas Candish, or Cavendish, of Trimley St. Martin, in the county of Suffolk, who in the years 1586-7 and 8, with 3 ships, viz. "The Desire," of the burthen of 120 tons, "The Content," of 60 tons, and "The Hugh Gallant," a bark of 40 tons, having on board 123 persons, made a voyage to the South Seas, and from thence round the world. During his voyage, viz. on 4th November 1587, he took a ship belonging to the King of Spain, called "The Sancta Anna," of about 700 tons burthen, laden with gold, silk, satins, damasks, &c. a large portion of which treasures he brought to England. Purchas' Pilg. fo. Lond. 1625, vol. i. part ii. pp. 57-65.

or ryfled, w<sup>ch</sup> being done, I, Robert Cecill, doe purpose to come away, w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> LLS good favour, and that for this tyme we most humblie take ou<sup>r</sup> leavee. ffrom the towne of Dartmouthe, the xxvij<sup>th</sup> of Septembe<sup>r</sup>, 1592.

Yo<sup>r</sup> LLS. most humblie to commaund,

Ro. CECYLL.

W. RALEGH.

FRA. DRAKE.

WILLM. KILLYGREWE.

RICH<sup>d</sup>. CARM'DEN.

THOMAS MYDDELTON.

"To the R. honorable ou<sup>r</sup> very good LSS. the Lo. Thrōr  
and Lo. Admirall of Englande."

Suspicion of having become possessed of large quantities of the pillaged goods seems to have attached specially to Captain Crosse (who, as before shewn, commanded the Queen's ship "The Foresight"), and Captain Norton, the Commander of the "Tiger," belonging to the Earl of Cumberland. Sir John Burgh was also accused of having obtained large quantities of jewels and precious stones.

As regards Captain Crosse, it would seem that the "Foresight" arrived in Portsmouth Harbour on 5th Sept. 1592, but she does not appear to have been searched until the 10th, by which time the principal part of the pillage, stated to have consisted of spices and calico, had been removed, "soe that," write the Mayor and Port Officers who conducted the search, "wee finde nothinge worth y<sup>e</sup> stayinge or certifyinge you<sup>r</sup> Ho. of;"<sup>a</sup> and those authorities state, in their Report to the Lord Treasurer, that they had learnt that, previous to coming into harbour, Crosse had "made a proclamation" on board, and obtained from the crew all the jewels and precious stones, which, however, they had not been able to discover. It was also stated that Crosse had out of the "Foresight" laden a whole barque, belonging to his brother, with plunder from the Carrack. Orders were issued for Crosse's apprehension,<sup>b</sup> and search was made in London for the goods of which he had possessed himself, but, though some things were met with, writes Sir John Hawkins<sup>c</sup> to Lord Burghley, yet "not the pryneypall short ware your Lordship wrott of."

Further inquiry was made at Captain Crosse's lodging in Devonshire (the Bull Inn at Ivy Bridge, on the river "Erme") where it appeared his brother had landed

<sup>a</sup> Letter from the Mayor and Officers of the Port of Portsmouth to Lord Burghley, dated 11th Sept. 1592. Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 37.

<sup>b</sup> See Letter from Mr. Waad to Lord Treasurer. Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 47.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Letter from Sir John Hawkins to Lord Burghley, dated 17th Sept. 1592, Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 43.



a chest, which was not however forthcoming, and the Commissioners apparently did not meet with anything of great value, but, on examination before them, Captain Crosse admitted <sup>a</sup> that he had taken out of the Carrack goods to the value of £2,000, and he acknowledged having in his "coffers" certain bills of lading and invoices which he promised to deliver up so soon as they came to his hand; he denied,<sup>b</sup> however, having any jewels, plate, precious stones, or things of a like nature, but said that the Earl of Cumberland's men accused Sir John Burgh of taking from them divers jewells and precious stones.

Some goods, consisting of mace, wax, cinnamon, book calico, cloves, and silk, belonging to Captain Crosse,<sup>c</sup> were seized by Sir John Hawkins, but the bulk of the plunder escaped the vigilance of the Commissioners. Considerable quantities of goods were purchased out of the "Foresight."<sup>d</sup> Thomas Ashmore, of Holborn, who

<sup>a</sup> Vide Letter from Mr. Richard Young, one of the London Commissioners, to the Lord Treasurer, dated 25th Sept. 1592. Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 55.

<sup>b</sup> Letter from the London Commissioners to Lord Burghley, dated 26th Sept. 1592, Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 56.

<sup>c</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 115, art. 91. From which it appears that Sir John retained from the spoils which came to his hands "a Tent for the Lord Admirall and a Table Guylt for the Lord Treasurer."

<sup>d</sup> There appears to have been an anxiety on all hands to obtain some of the goods taken from the "rich Carrack." The Countess of Bath, in a letter (Add. MS. Brit. Mus. No. 12.506, fo. 88) to Sir Julius, then Dr. Caesar, regrets, as will be seen, her inability to secure a portion of the prize.

"Good Mast. docter Cesear, had longe agone geuen you grate thanks for your late curtecie in granting my request with I desiered. It geues me grate caus to see howe much I am beholding to you, and assure your self you shal find me as thankefull, it shal not faile to be broughte in by the yeres end: for your large libertie shall not be abused, for in so doeing they shall doe me ingure. I send your wife a smale token in shoue of a thankful remeberanc: but had I had any thing by this riche carike she should have perseued it by my token, but my Lor howse is fure of and so lited of nothing: and this I lave to God, desirieng to retayne your good disposicion still to me, thought I can not sufficiently be thankfull as it desarueth: but rest you of a suered mind redy: and this from my Lor howse the ii of febru.

Your frend assured,

ELYZA: BATHON.

Superscription,—“To my very good frinde Mr. Doctor Cesar geve these.”

Indorsed,—“11 February 1592.—The Countesse of Bathe. An acknowledging of my love to her and desire of cōtinuance.”

The writer of this letter was Elizabeth Countess of Bath. She was daughter of Francis Russell Earl of Bedford, and wife of William Bourchier, Earl of Bath, and Lord Lieutenant of the county of Devon, to whom she was married in St. Mary Major's Church in Exeter, on 7 August 1583; "on which occasion," says Izacke, "the city of Exeter presented a bason and ewer of silver gilded, and also made them a *triumph* in Southernhay, in honour of their said marriage." Memorials, p. 137.—Lady Bath died in 1605, and lies buried in the beautiful church of Tawstock, where, on the north side of the altar, is a monument with a long eulogistic

was examined by the London Commissioners,<sup>a</sup> deposed, that, amongst other things, he bought out of the ship "a Gilt Targett, xxv cheyney dishes, and 2 Turkey Carpetts, and he hade a blackamore given his wife by Captain Marchan."

Captain Norton, who, as before stated, commanded the Earl of Cumberland's ship the "Tiger," was strictly examined by the Commissioners, but with no good effect.<sup>b</sup> Chests belonging to him were seized both at London and Gravesend; that taken at the latter place contained bags of "cloves, cynamon, and annele." The inventory<sup>c</sup> of the chest taken in London shows a pillage of goods of a different character, as will be seen from the following extracts:—

"A Sylver Basson."

"A Silke Quilte, Straw Collour and White."

"A Gilt Caskett with two hatt bands of Gold."

"A Smale Truncke Carpett."

"A Quilte of Satten, checked yellow and white."

"xiiij pec's of Taffata of divers collers."

"A Bearing-cloth<sup>d</sup> of White Taffata wrought."

"A Coape of White Silke Imbrodered w<sup>th</sup> Silke and Gold, w<sup>th</sup> ij other things p'teyning to ytt."

"Fowre pypes of White sowing Silke."

"A Bason with two Ewers of Pursland (Porcelain)."

"A Silke Quilt checkered Greene and Orrong tawny."

"Two pec's of Whit Ciprus."

epitaph to her husband, and a brief mention of her ladyship, wherein she is described as "a most accomplished woman."

"My Lor howse" was Tawstock Court, the seat of the Bouchier family, situate about two miles from the town of Barnstaple, in the northern division of the county of Devon. Of the original house, which was destroyed by fire in 1786, nothing but the gateway remains. Tawstock is now the property of Sir Bouchier Wrey, Bart. who holds by descent from the Earls of Bath.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 56.

<sup>b</sup> Letter dated 29th Sept. 1592, from Commissioners to Lord Burghley, Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 61.

<sup>c</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 115, art. 91.

<sup>d</sup> A bearing-cloth was the mantle or cloth with which a child was usually covered when carried to the church to be baptised, or produced among the gossips by the nurse. Shakespeare refers to it in the following passage:

"Here's a sight for thee: look thee, a *bearing-cloth* for a squire's child!

Look thee here: take up, take up, boy open 't."

Winter's Tale, Act iii. sc. 3.

The Duke of Glo'ster also, in the first part of Henry VI. addressing the Bishop of Winchester, mentions it:

I will not slay thee, but I'll drive thee back,

Thy scarlet robes as a child's *bearing-cloth*

I'll use, to carry thee out of this place.

Act i. sc. 3.



"Two Dozens of Mother of Pearle Spones."

"A Gilded Chest."

"Fowre gilded posts of a bed. A Gilded Bedd head."

"A Gilded Table. A Post gilded for the same Table."

"3 or 4 Gilded Targetts in a Boundell."

"3 Cases of fyne Tapestry."

"An exceeding fayre chest" of Captain Norton's, stated to be worth £300, was found in Devonshire, with a "Table bord such (writes Richard Champernoun<sup>a</sup>) as, I thynk, ys not to be had in England."

Sir Robert Cecil appears to have been struck by the description of the "Table bord," as, in the letter to him, which probably he forwarded to his father, he added this note:—"He meanyth the hangings in it, w<sup>ch</sup> we have sent for, to see if they be of Persia, or fitt for the Q[ueen]."

The accusation against Sir John Burgh was made by the Earl of Cumberland's men, who deposed<sup>b</sup> that he had taken from them precious stones, amber, and musk; but the Commissioners reported to Lord Burghley that they could not find any in their searches, in which, as regarded himself, Sir John appears (as before stated<sup>c</sup>) voluntarily to have assisted; and they add, "if he have any (w<sup>ch</sup> to the Queen he hathe not deliuered) he hathe muche to answeare to God, for deeper vowes, nor othes, cannot be exacted from any persone." The Commissioners mention in their Report a rich dagger, which Sir John took from one of the crew, and which was stated to have a heft of agate set with rubies, which, however, proved on inspection to be only covered with a case of silver and gilt damasked upon red, with a heft of white caredoñ. They also notice a great stone in Sir John's possession, and "much spoken of," being a pointed stone "without foile, in a ring." But it appears they were not sufficiently skilful as lapidaries to state whether or not it was a diamond, "tho' it be hard and write in Glass."

Sir John Hawkins was very anxious to prove that his ship the "Dainty" had not taken any part in the plunder. In writing to Lord Burghley from Deptford on 17th Sept.<sup>d</sup> he stated his intention of subjecting his vessel to the strictest search, as he would not "reserve the worthe of a peny, but that yt shall come to the stocke, as yt is reson." The Captain of the Dainty apparently had not the same views as his master; for, instead of taking the ship into Plymouth he came round to Harwich,

<sup>a</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 62.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. art. 61.

<sup>c</sup> Vide ante, p. 229. Letter from the Commissioners to Lord Burghley, dated 27th Sept. 1592. Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 61.

<sup>d</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 43.



to which place he belonged.<sup>a</sup> His reason for doing this he thus explained :—"That some of his company had sworne that they ment to see the bottome of the Carraque, and so fearinge the spoile that might be made by them " he came about to Harwich.<sup>b</sup> At Harwich,<sup>c</sup> where he arrived on the 20th September, goods were sold out of the *Dainty*, without being entered at the Customs, estimated by the officers as worth £1,200 or £1,400. Thomson, however, subsequently stated that the value did not exceed £400, though he admitted that he did not know precisely what goods the mariners had. The Captain seems to have thought himself justified in the sale he effected, as "he made affirmation that the sale was good ;"<sup>d</sup> the things sold having all been, as he stated, bestowed on him and his crew by the Admiral.<sup>e</sup>

Immediately the arrival of the *Dainty* in port was made known to the Government a Custom House officer was despatched to Harwich, but he did not arrive until after the sale. Mr. Waad, the Clerk of the Councel, in narrating to Lord Burghley the facts connected with Sir John Hawkins's ship, adds, that whilst he and Mr. Yonge (one of the Commissioners) were conferring with Sir George Barne (another of the Commissioners), a waggon arrived at the "George in Lumbard Street," from Ipswich, in which was "a verie greate bagge of greate Cynamon, a bagge of 40 pounce waighte of Saffron, and a bagge of eertaine pieces of Callicott," which, not being owned, was seized. In consequence of the sale from the *Dainty*, and the report to Lord Burghley "that suche quantitie as is come to the Cittie came by carriage, some to Holborne, some to the Stronde, and some to Southwarke," orders were given that all carts or waggons arriving in London from the west parts of the coast of Norfolk, Suffolk, or Essex, should be publicly searched, and also that all letters should be inspected which should arrive by "ordinarie postes."

Sir John Hawkins appears to have been kept in ignorance of the proceedings of the Captain of his vessel, for he wrote on 25th September 'to Lord Burghley, stating, that the *Dainty* had been searched and nothing found, and that he had declined seeing the Captain until he had been interrogated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The search mentioned by Hawkins took place after the ship was brought round from the Norfolk coast towards London. Hawkins inclosed to the Lord Treasurer a letter which he had received from Thomson, wherein he states

<sup>a</sup> Hakluyt, vol. ii. part ii. p. 197.

<sup>b</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 56.

<sup>c</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 47. Letter from Mr. Waad, Clerk of the Council, to the Lord Treasurer.—In this Letter, opposite the allegation as to the sale made at Harwich, Lord Burghley has written, "Thompsō is therfor a k."

<sup>d</sup> Vide Letter from Mr. Richard Young to Lord Burghley, 25 Sept. 1592. Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 55.

<sup>e</sup> Examination of Thomson. Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 56.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. art. 54.

that he boarded the Carrack, and that immediately on her being taken his mast "went aboard," when he was left all alone and let drive in the sea five days before he could make a jury-mast; that when he rejoined the fleet he found that the pillage had been divided, and that the captains had obtained the money, stones, silk, jewels, apparel, and chains of gold, &c. which were in the cabin; whereupon he applied to Sir John Burgh for his share, and the account he gives of the interview is amusing enough; it is as follows:—"He (i. e. Sir John) telleth me that Proclamacyon was made, and he was for the Queene. Soc am I to, said I, I hope; but ys there never a chaine of gold left, said I, nor apparell? I have somethinge for you, said he, because yo<sup>r</sup> weare awaie; w<sup>ch</sup> was a common sailer's cheste w<sup>ch</sup> had byn broken vpp before."

Divers small "finds" occurred. Richard Champernoun, one of the Commissioners at Plymouth, reported to Sir Robert Cecil the finding of "an emerod made in the form of a cross, 3 inches in length, at least, of great breadth."<sup>a</sup> He also stated that he had discovered that "won Mr. Chychester, who went in thys Fleete, sold 41 dyamonds," and that another sold "21 dyamonds, som very fayre." Also that he had found 1400 "very greate pearle."

Strict watch for goods obtained from the Carrack was kept at Exeter; men were placed at the gates of the city, "and other needful places," but to no purpose.

Goldsmiths and jewellers had, immediately on the arrival of the Carrack, hastened to Dartmouth and the neighbourhood to purchase the precious stones of which sale was made by the capturers. Sir Walter Raleigh applied to Lord Burghley to make inquiry as to those jewellers and goldsmiths who had left London, that on their return they might be examined upon oath what stones and pearls they had bought, and he adds,<sup>b</sup> "If I meet any of them coming up, if it be upon the wildest heath in all the way, I mean to strip them as naked as ever they were born, for it is infinite that her Majesty hath been robbed, and that of the most rare things."

Notwithstanding the exertions made by the Commissioners, a very small quantity of the stolen goods was recovered. The difficulties they met with in the prosecution of their inquiries were increased by the impossibility of obtaining from the witnesses they examined any true statements. They wrote to Lord Burghley, in reference to some fact they were reporting to him, "This is sworne and dubble sworne, but what is true amongst them all, God knowethe; all that we haue looked

<sup>a</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 62.

<sup>b</sup> Letter from Raleigh to Lord Burghley, printed in Strype's Annals, vol. iv. page 178.

narrowliest into is this, to seaze all thinges in all mens hands, for to gett it out by oathes amongst marryn<sup>rs</sup> and sayle<sup>rs</sup> wee doe assure yo<sup>r</sup> Lp (but that by intercepting of tres, searching of carriers, & stopping of passages, wee doe dailie finger things) they will never be recouered; and to tell yo<sup>r</sup> Lp truthe, this some of them will say (when wee bydd them regarde their othes), 'Nay, by my trothe, wee had rather be in the hands of God, to trust his mercie, then in the hands of Commiss<sup>rs</sup> that haue no mercie.'"<sup>a</sup>

The Lansdowne MSS. from which principally the foregoing particulars have been gathered, contain a considerable number of Reports from the Commissioners, as well as various applications from them to Lord Burghley for directions on very minor points. Amongst these documents many are endorsed in the Treasurer's handwriting, and contain his autograph notes, as also memoranda relating to the discovery of the pillages committed, &c. which instance very strikingly the indefatigable application to the minutest details of business, which formed one of the prominent features in the character of that sagacious minister.

Almost all persons that were in any manner connected with the business were suspected or accused of having been party to the pillage which took place. Sir Walter Raleigh intimated to the Lord Treasurer,<sup>b</sup> that the Earl of Cumberland received a large portion of the jewels taken from the Carrack. Sir John Gilbert was examined as to the share he got of the pillage; but Sir Robert Cecil, in a letter to Lord Burghley, exeulpates him entirely, saying, "I assure you, on my fayth, I do think him wronged in this" [accusation]; though the following passage is added (not, it must be confessed, very complimentary to the Dammonii), "howsoever in others he may have done like a Devonshire man:" and even Sir Francis Drake, one of the Commissioners, did not escape, as he was accused of being too favourable to pilfering mariners. The following<sup>c</sup> is Sir Francis' straightforward reply to the accusation.

"My right humble dutie remembred: as I muste acknowledge myself ever moste bounden vnto yo<sup>r</sup> Lp, so do I spetially for this honorable favour, in letting me to vnderstand of that information against me; wherein, though I might referre myselfe to the reporte of S<sup>r</sup> Robert Cecill, who hath seen the course I haue carried against the myners, and [I hoape] will sufficeintlie fleeve me in this behalf, yet it maie please y<sup>r</sup> Lp to geive me leave to aunswear thus muche in a

<sup>a</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 61.

<sup>b</sup> Letters from Raleigh to Lord Burghley, printed in Strype's Annals, Ox. Ed. 1824, vol. iv. pp. 177-8.

<sup>c</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 74.



worde. That I haue been so farre from favouring of theise maryners, either in speach or deede, as bothe openlie and privatelie I haue been and am exclamed on to be severe in bothe.

"And for my owne partie (in this matter of such disorder co'mytted by theise compaines) I haue still vppon all occasions of speach maynteyned this opynion, that some of them must be punished, or els it will discourag honest men to vndertake any charg at sea, or the marchaunts to adventure. And moreou<sup>r</sup> when there was some admonycon to be gieven to these murmuringe people, and my self appointed the speaker, I tuld them openlye, that they weare not called togei-ther to be satisfied of their vnreasonable demands, but that if they carried not theym selves temperate in speech and dutifull in action, they should be punished accordingle.

"And therefore not doubting but yo<sup>r</sup> Lp before this tyme is satisfied in this behalf, I rest most willing to do yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup> service, and for the p<sup>r</sup>sent do humblie take my leave.

"ffrom Dartmouth, the viij<sup>th</sup> of October 1592.

"Yo<sup>r</sup> good Lls most humblie to be comaunded,

"To the righte honorable my Verie good

FRA. DRAKE.

L. the L. highe Treasewrer of England."

Very exaggerated notions of the value of the prize were entertained. Before its arrival in England it was computed by Sir Walter Raleigh, and his co-adventurer Sir John Hawkins, to be worth £500,000.<sup>a</sup> Subsequently the value was estimated by Raleigh at £200,000.<sup>b</sup> The actual value will be best gathered from a detailed estimate taken at Leadenhall, the 15th Dec. 1592, which is as follows :

*An Estimate of the Carriques goods at Leaden Hauille, the 15th of Decembre, a<sup>o</sup> 1592<sup>c</sup>*

| Spices and Rice, viz.—                |  | li.          | sh. | d. |
|---------------------------------------|--|--------------|-----|----|
| Pepper . . . . .                      | 648,744 <sup>li</sup> at 2 <sup>sh</sup> 2 <sup>d</sup> the pounce | 70,280       | 12  | 0  |
| Cloues . . . . .                      | 115,128 <sup>li</sup> at 4 <sup>sh</sup> the pounce                | 23,025       | 12  | 0  |
| Maces . . . . .                       | 9945 <sup>li</sup> at 8 <sup>sh</sup> the pounce                   | 3,978        | 0   | 0  |
| Sinamon . . . . .                     | 21,700 <sup>li</sup> at 3 <sup>sh</sup> 4 <sup>d</sup> the pounce  | 3,616        | 13  | 4  |
| Sinamon & Cloues togeith <sup>r</sup> | 26 Chestes at 20 <sup>li</sup> the chest                           | 520          | 0   | 0  |
| Sinamon & fusses togeith <sup>r</sup> | 9 Chests at 10 <sup>li</sup> the chest                             | 90           | 0   | 0  |
| Mingled Spices of sondry Sorts        | 3 Chests at 10 <sup>li</sup> the chest                             | 30           | 0   | 0  |
| Nutmegges . . . . .                   | 2 Cases at 5 <sup>li</sup> the Case                                | 10           | 0   | 0  |
| Ginger . . . . .                      | 1 barell and 2 bags, esteemed all at                               | 5            | 0   | 0  |
| Greene Ginger . . . . .               | 1 barell, esteemed at  | 5            | 0   | 0  |
| Fust cloues . . . . .                 | 1 Chest and 2 Cases, esteemed all at                               | 10           | 0   | 0  |
| Rice . . . . .                        | 11 Farthells at 14 <sup>sh</sup> the Farthell                      | 7            | 14  | 0  |
|                                       |  | 101,578 11 4 |     |    |

<sup>a</sup> Letter from Raleigh and Hawkins to Cecil. Harl. MS.

<sup>b</sup> Letter from Raleigh to the Lord Treasurer, Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 181.

<sup>c</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 89.

## Drugges of sundrie Sorts, viz.—

|                  |           | li.                                    | sh.             | d.        | li.   | sh.   | d.  |
|------------------|-----------|--|-----------------|-----------|-------|-------|-----|
| Beniamin         | . . . . . | 5,250 <sup>li</sup>                    | esteemed all at | . . . . . | 800   | 0     | 0   |
| Franckensence    | . . . . . | 1 pipe, 6 hogesheades, and 1 firken,   |                 |           |       |       |     |
|                  |           | all at                                 | . . . . .       |           | 40    | 0     | 0   |
| Gallingale       | . . . . . | 4 punchions, 5 ho'p, 1 barell, & 3     |                 |           |       |       |     |
|                  |           | bags, all at                           | . . . . .       |           | 80    | 0     | 0   |
| Myrabiloues      | . . . . . | 2 Baggs, esteemed at                   | . . . . .       |           | 4     | 0     | 0   |
| Alloes Secatrina | . . . . . | 2 hogesheades, 14 barells, & 9 firken, |                 |           |       |       |     |
|                  |           | esteemed                               | . . . . .       |           | 150   | 0     | 0   |
|                  |           |  |                 |           | <hr/> |       |     |
|                  |           |  |                 |           |       | 1,074 | 0 0 |

## Camphire, Burras, &amp;c.—

|           |           |  |           |  |       |     |     |
|-----------|-----------|--|-----------|--|-------|-----|-----|
| Camphire  | . . . . . | 6 hogesheades & 2 barells, esteemed        |           |  |       |     |     |
|           |           | all at                                     | . . . . . |  | 230   | 0   | 0   |
| Burras    | . . . . . | 6 barells, 17 firkins, and 32 Jars, all at |           |  | 250   | 0   | 0   |
| Hardewaxe | . . . . . | 1 pipe, 8 hogesheds, 2 barells, & 6        |           |  |       |     |     |
|           |           | firkins, at                                | . . . . . |  | 100   | 0   | 0   |
|           |           |  |           |  | <hr/> |     |     |
|           |           |  |           |  |       | 580 | 0 0 |

## Collours for Diers, viz.—

|                 |           |   |           |        |        |     |
|-----------------|-----------|---|-----------|--------|--------|-----|
| Indico or Anile | . . . . . | 348 Farthells, in all esteemed at         | . . . . . | 12,500 | 0      | 0   |
| Lacre           | . . . . . | 40 <sup>c</sup> waight at 7 poundes p. c. | . . . . . | 280    | 0      | 0   |
|                 |           |   |           | —————  | 12,780 | 0 0 |

## Silkes, Wrought and Unwrought, viz.—

|                               |   |       |       |     |
|-------------------------------|---|-------|-------|-----|
| Damaskes . . . . .            | 38 peeces at 40 <sup>sh</sup> the peece .   | 76    | 0     | 0   |
| Taffitaes . . . . .           | 172 peeces at 30 <sup>sh</sup> the peece .  | 258   | 0     | 0   |
| Sarrcenett . . . . .          | 2 peeces at 6 <sup>sh</sup> the peece .     | 0     | 12    | 0   |
| Counterfeit, cloth of Golde . | 1 peece stayned, esteemed at .              | 2     | 0     | 0   |
| Curled Sipers . . . . .       | 974 papers at 6 <sup>sh</sup> the paper .   | 292   | 4     | 0   |
| China Silke vnwrought . .     | 9 Chestes, esteemed all at .                | 2,200 | 0     | 0   |
| Sleaved Silke . . . . .       | 678 papers at 8 <sup>sh</sup> the paper .   | 271   | 4     | 0   |
| White twisted Silke . . . .   | 3,296 papers at 8 <sup>sh</sup> the paper . | 1,318 | 8     | 0   |
|                               |   |       |       |     |
|                               |   |       | 4,418 | 8 0 |

## Callicoes of sundrie soartes, viz.—

|   |       |   |       |       |        |     |
|---|-------|---|-------|-------|--------|-----|
| Packes and Farthells  | . . . | vnveywed 174, esteemed all at                                       | . . . | 8,200 | 0      | 0   |
| Booke Callicoos   | . . . | 12,055 peeces at 12 <sup>sh</sup> the peece                         | . . . | 7,233 | 0      | 0   |
| Callicoos, Lawnes   | . . . | 765 peeces at 20 <sup>sh</sup> the peece                            | . . . | 765   | 0      | 0   |
| Course callico Lawnes, or whited                            |       |   |       |       |        |     |
| boulter   | . . . | 1,904 peeces at 8 <sup>sh</sup> p' peece                            | . . . | 761   | 12     | 0   |
| Broade White Callicoos, fyne                                | . . . | 83 peeces at 16 <sup>sh</sup> p' pece                               | . . . | 66    | 8      | 0   |
| Narrowe white callicoos, fine                               | . . . | 875 peeces at 12 <sup>sh</sup> the peece                            | . . . | 525   | 0      | 0   |
| Starched Callicoos  | . . . | 4,572 peeces at 12 <sup>sh</sup> the peece                          | . . . | 2,743 | 4      | 0   |
| Course white callicoos                                      | . . . | 368 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub> peeces at 9 <sup>sh</sup> the peece | . . . | 165   | 18     | 0   |
| Browne broad Callicoos                                      | . . . | 241 peeces at 6 <sup>sh</sup> the peece                             | . . . | 72    | 6      | 0   |
| Browne coarse Callicoos                                     | . . . |   |       |       |        |     |
| Course Diaper Towells and diu'rs small p'cells of Callicoos | . . . |   |       | 20    | 0      | 0   |
|   |       |   |       | <hr/> |        |     |
|   |       |   |       |       | 20,552 | 8 0 |

Quilts and Carpetts—

|   | li. | sh. | d. | li. | sh. | d.  |
|---|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|
| Quiltes of course Sarcenet, 4 at 30 <sup>th</sup> the piece . . . . .             | 6   | 0   | 0  |     |     |     |
| Quilts of Callicoe, 28 at 20 <sup>th</sup> the peece . . . . .                    | 28  | 0   | 0  |     |     |     |
| Peeces of Quilted Callicoe, 7 peeces, esteemed all at . . . . .                   | 4   | 0   | 0  |     |     |     |
| Turkey Carpette, 16 Carpetts at 40 <sup>th</sup> p <sup>r</sup> Carpett . . . . . | 32  | 0   | 0  |     |     |     |
|   |     |     |    |     | 70  | 0 0 |

Diuers Com'odities, viz.—

|  |  |  |  |  |     |      |
|--|--|--|--|--|-----|------|
| Ebony Woode Bedsteides, and diu'rs other small p'cells, esteemed . . . . . |  |  |  |  | 146 | 12 8 |
|--|--|--|--|--|-----|------|

Li 141,200 0 0

Considerable discussion took place as to the division to be made, and it seems to have been suggested (though on what ground does not appear), that her Majesty was entitled to deal with the entire prize in such a manner as she pleased. A letter<sup>a</sup> (not as I believe any where printed) from Sir John Fortescue,<sup>b</sup> the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to Lord Burghley, in relation to this point, is interesting, as showing the politic advice which was given by the Lord Treasurer to his Royal Mistress:

"With my bounden duety may it please your L. According to yo<sup>r</sup> direction I haue acquaynted her Ma<sup>tie</sup> with the opynyon of the Doctours and others towching the interest of the taking of the Carrick, and of your L. great care and payns in that cause, together with your particular directions whereby the hole m<sup>r</sup> came to her Ma<sup>ty</sup> determynaçon, and that her resoluçon is and must be the Lawe in the cause, wherein, according to my duety, I haue made knowen vnto her your L. espe-

<sup>a</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 70, art. 90.

<sup>b</sup> Sir John Fortescue was the eldest son of Sir Adrian Fortescue, K.B. who was attainted of high treason and beheaded in 1539. He was distinguished for his classical attainments, which are said to have introduced him to the notice of Queen Elizabeth, whose studies he assisted, and by whom he was appointed Master of the Wardrobe. Sir John represented the town of Buckingham in the Parliament which met in 1586, and he was elected one of the Knights of the Shire in 1588-9. The Queen appointed him a Privy Counsellor, and on the death of Sir Walter Mildmay in 1589 he succeeded as Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, which appointment he held during the remainder of Elizabeth's reign. At the date of the narrative he had again been elected to represent the county of Buckingham in Parliament. James I. on his accession, continued Sir John Fortescue in his offices, except that of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was exchanged for the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, an appointment which he retained until his death, which happened on the 23rd December, 1607. Sir John seems to have been a very prudent man, of great probity, assiduous and faithful in the discharge of his offices, not mixing in any of the party intrigues of the day, nor interfering in any matters which were not referred to him. These qualities obtained for him the unbroken confidence of both the Sovereigns whom he served. So high did he stand in the estimation of Elizabeth, that the conduct of his younger brother Sir Anthony Fortescue, who, like his father, was convicted of high treason, did not in any manner affect his position; and James I. on his return from meeting his Queen on her way from Scotland rested a night with his Royal Consort at Sir John Fortescue's house at Salden in Buckinghamshire.



cial travell, and all my Lls. carefulnes, that both in honour and profytt eu'ý thing is devolued to her highnes dispossytyon.

"Never the lesse I was bold of my self to add, that her Ma<sup>tie</sup> stooode not vnlik an executour in iustice who mvst discharge debts, legacies, and childrens porçons, adding your L. opynyon, that hir good and honorable consideraçon was to admiere, or vtterly overthrow all shaire, if due regard were not had of my L. of Comblande and S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawlegh, w<sup>th</sup> the rest of the adventurers, who wold never be induced to further adventure if they were not princely considred of; and herein I found her Ma<sup>tie</sup> very pryncely disposed, as well in good allowance of your L. and my Lls great paynes and s<sup>u</sup>ices, as also meanyng to consider of the particuler of my L. of Combland and the rest of the aduentureres; w<sup>ch</sup> thing, I think, will not be resolued vntill your L. comyng to Court. My L. of Combland deliu'd me an vffer here at the Court w<sup>ch</sup> I herew<sup>th</sup> send your L. I perswaded his L. to forbear any vffer vntill I might haue S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawleghes, growing doubtfull that this being lesse then formerly had ben maid, her Ma<sup>tie</sup> wo<sup>ld</sup> rest discontented, w<sup>ch</sup> opynyon of myn my L. yelded willingly; and this in effect is all yat heytherto is done. S<sup>r</sup> Robert Ciceill can enforme y<sup>r</sup> L. if any further particularytýe be omytted. I acquaynted her Ma<sup>tie</sup> of the takinge of S<sup>t</sup> Valdes from your L. and of S<sup>r</sup> Roger Willm's being there, and hir highnes both ioyfully herd the newes, and liked yor opynyon that he shuld hold the place, both for her abatement of chardge, w<sup>ch</sup> may be hoped, but especially for the pres'vaçon of her people. And this, w<sup>th</sup> my duety remembred, I comend your L. to God, who send yo<sup>u</sup> helth, w<sup>th</sup> encrease of much honour. At Hampton Court, this xxiiij of December 1592. Your L. most bounden and always to comaund,

J. FORTESCUE.

"To the right honorable and my verie good L.  
the L. highe Treas<sup>r</sup> of England."

The practice in reference to the division of prizes taken by ships "in consortship" appears to have been that whatever was gotten in that consortship should be divided, "ton for ton and man for man."<sup>a</sup> In the Lansdowne MS. No. 73, art. 8, is a letter from the Lord Mayor and Citizens of London to Lord Burghley, stating the prices they could afford to give for certain of the prize goods of the Carrack. This letter, together with divers accounts as to the division of the goods, was printed in Sir Henry Ellis's valuable Collection of Original Letters.<sup>b</sup> From these accounts it appears that the division of the prize took place in January 1592-3, and that

|  | £. s. d.   |                                      | £. s. d.   |
|--|------------|--------------------------------------|------------|
| The Earl of Cumberland claimed . . . . .                           | 19,516 0 0 | for which he received . . . . .      | 18,000 0 0 |
| Sir Walter Raleigh, for four several accounts<br>claimed . . . . . | 25,296 9 4 | for which he received . . . . .      | 15,900 0 0 |
| Sir John Hawkins claimed for the "Dainty" . . . . .                | 2,958 0 0  | what he received does<br>not appear. |            |

<sup>a</sup> Vide note, p. 239.

<sup>b</sup> 3d Series, vol. iv. p. 99, et seq.

|  | <i>£. s. d.</i> |  | <i>£. s. d.</i>         |
|--|-----------------|--|-------------------------|
| Mr. Carew Raleigh claimed for the galleon<br>"Raleigh" . . . . .   | 1,000 0 0       | for which he received .                                | 900 0 0                 |
| Henry Colethrust and Company, for their<br>ship called the "Lark," given with her<br>furniture to the crew of a Biscayan prize<br>called the "Santa Clara," which had<br>been taken by Sir Walter Raleigh's fleet<br>before the division into two squadrons<br>as before mentioned, <sup>a</sup> claimed . . . . | 300 0 0         | for which they received .                              | 200 0 0                 |
| Alderman Saltanstalle, for the "Suzan,"<br>claimed . . . . .   | 1,000 0 0       | for which he obtained .                                | 900 0 0                 |
| John Watts claimed, in respect of the "Al-<br>redo" and "Margaret" . . . . .   | 2,100 0 0       | for which he was allowed                               | 1,700 0 0               |
| John Moore, for the services of the "Golden<br>Dragon" and "Prudencee," under the con-<br>sortment entered into with Sir John<br>Burgh at Flores, claimed . . . . .  | 2,200 0 0       | for which he obtained                                  | 2,000 0 0               |
| The sum claimed by the City of London does<br>not appear, their stake in the adventure was   | 6,000 0 0       | the sum allowed them (to<br>be delivered in goods) was | 12,000 0 0              |
|  |                 |  | <hr/> £51,600 0 0 <hr/> |

If we are to understand that the adventurers, together with the Earl of Cumberland, received only £51,600, the Queen must indeed have reserved for herself a lion's share. Raleigh himself (although he subsequently complains sadly<sup>b</sup> of having sustained a loss by the adventure) appears to have suggested the mode of making the regal calculation, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer,<sup>c</sup> wherein he pointed out that the way to profit her Majesty's cause was, 1st, to take one-fifth for her custom;<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 195.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Sir Walter's "Cause for the Carraek—Drawn up by himself."—Strype, vol. iv. p. 179.

<sup>c</sup> Letter from Raleigh to Lord Burghley, dated 16 Sept. 1592, printed in Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 182.

<sup>d</sup> In Queen Elizabeth's time the precise division of a prize taken by the ships of commissioned privateer merchants seems, in ordinary cases, to have been regulated (subject to the payment of the custom duties) by agreement between the adventurers and their crews. In reference to capture by commissioned private ships not in the king's pay, the Black Book of the Admiralty sets forth as follows :

"Item se hors de gages du Roy aucunes biens par Gallioters, ou autres, soient pris sur la mer, donques le Roy ne chalengera nul droit, ne proprement aura nul part; mais iceux qui gaignez les auront, forspris que l'admiral en aura deux shares, en chacune nef come dit est, c'est a dire, autant comme deux hommes, l'une share avec la mayne, et l'autre avec la vitaille et la nef." Vide Lansd. MS. No. 318, p. 149, and Hargr. MS. No. 185. p. 7.

2ndly, one-tenth or more for her particular adventure; and next, to take one-third of all, out of which she was to pay the seamen's wages, which, added Sir Walter, would not amount to £6,000. When however he thus wrote, he no doubt did so with a view of mollifying Elizabeth's anger; indeed it would appear that Sir Walter's ultimate liberation from confinement was to a certain extent purchased by the bribe he offered to the Queen in reference to the Carrack, for he writes (Strype, vol. iv. p. 180) to the Lord Treasurer from the Tower, pointing out that, assuming the value of the prize at £200,000, the Queen's share would amount to £20,000 only; but he hints that to buy his liberty he would be willing that this £20,000 should be made £100,000 out of his own share. "Fourscore thousand pounds (he writes) is more than ever a man presented her Majesty as yet. If God have sent it for my ransom I hope her Majesty of her abundant goodness will accept it."—The value of the prize as it came to be divided was, as we have seen, overrated; but apparently the Queen obtained by the adventure at least £83,600 out of the £141,000; not, it must be admitted, a bad return for her investment, considering that out of 5005 tons of shipping she had furnished but 1150, and out of £18,000 in money only £1,500!!

The Carrack having been discharged of her cargo remained at Dartmouth until the year 1594, up to which time she had cost for pumping and keeping no less a sum than £216 10s. 10d.<sup>a</sup> The Corporation of Dartmouth offered in that year to purchase the vessel for £200, and, with the proceeds arising from the sale, to build in the same town a hospital for the poor.<sup>b</sup> I do not, however, find that the offer was accepted, or that the charities of the town of Dartmouth at all benefited by the capture of the "Madre de Dios."

These proportions appear however to have varied at the king's pleasure, and Sir Matthew Hale states, that in his time the admiral had one third of the goods taken by private men of war as his fee, but in right of the king. In later times the statute of 4 and 5 William and Mary, cap. 25, gave to Privateers four-fifths of the prize cargo, and to the king one-fifth, the captured ship, ammunition, tackle, and furniture, belonging to those interested in the privateer: and, as a further encouragement, it was thereby enacted, that privateers destroying any French man of war or privateer should receive for every piece of ordnance in the ship so taken 10*l.* reward. The *entire* beneficial interest was first given to the captors in the year 1708, by the statute of 6 Anne, cap. 13, intituled, "An Act for the better securing the Trade of this Kingdom by Cruizers and Convoys, and for the Encouragement of Cruizers."

<sup>a</sup> Lansd. MS. No. 115, No. 80.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. art. 81.



XVIII.—*Defence of Sir Ferdinando Gorges against a Charge of having betrayed Robert Earl of Essex. With a Letter from JOHN BRUCE, Esq. Treas. S.A., to J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq. V.P.S.A.*

Read Dec. 20, 1849.

MY DEAR MR. VICE-PRESIDENT,

5, Upper Gloucester Street, Dorset Square,  
18th Dec. 1849.

AMONG the many striking incidents which occurred during the trial of Robert Earl of Essex, in 1601, none seem to have more strongly attracted the attention of the people than those which relate to the evidence and conduct of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The testimony of Sir Ferdinando excited the impetuous Earl much more than the ungenerous selfishness of Bacon, and almost as much as the vituperation of Sir Edward Coke, or the sudden interference of Sir Robert Cecil. When I first heard, Mr. Vice-President, that you were engaged upon a life of the Earl of Essex, you may remember that I mentioned to you, that there existed in the Cotton Collection of MSS. a paper written by Sir Ferdinando, purporting to be his defence against the popular clamour raised against him for his conduct towards the Earl. I should have preferred that you should yourself have been the first to print this paper in your forthcoming work; but, upon your assurance that it will be more agreeable to you that I should communicate it to the Society of Antiquaries, I now send you a transcript of it, and will thank you to lay it before the Society. I shall accompany it with a comparatively brief comment, in the hope that the whole subject will shortly be fully treated by yourself.

It is now many years since I first became acquainted with this MS. I am not aware that it has been used by historical writers, nor indeed that it has been noticed by any one, save by Mr. Cayley in his life of Sir Walter Raleigh, and by that diligent and accurate searcher into historical antiquities, Mr. Jardine, in the first volume of his excellent collection of Criminal Trials. Mr. Cayley extracted one paragraph from it; and Mr. Jardine described it as being a spirited and well-written defence, but without giving any extracts or any further particulars of its contents. It seems to me that it well merits all that Mr. Jardine has said in its

commendation, and fully deserves to be added to the many invaluable historical documents which have been printed, from time to time, in the *Archæologia*.

The evidence of Sir Ferdinando Gorges consisted of two examinations, or confessions, dated the 16th and 18th February, 1600-1. The originals still exist in the State Paper Office. They can only be read, with any accuracy, in Mr. Jardine's account of the Trial of the Earl of Essex. All the other narratives are so imperfect, and one of them—that by Bacon—(I fear it must be decidedly stated) is so shamefully garbled, that no reliance can be placed upon any of them.

Sir Ferdinando's first examination sets forth that, being absent from London, no doubt at Plymouth, of which place he was the queen's governor, the Earl of Essex wrote him a letter full of complaint of his usage by the court, and desired him to repair to town by the 2nd of February. He came up accordingly, and reached London on that day. He waited upon the Earl that same night, and saw him, privately, two or three times in the course of the week following. He details several discussions which took place in the course of the night of Saturday the 7th February, after the Earl had determined to resort to arms, respecting the course which ought to be adopted. He also states various circumstances of no very great moment, respecting the proceedings of the 8th—"the rebellion *unius diei*," as it was termed in scorn by Queen Elizabeth.

Sir Ferdinando's second examination relates to an entirely new subject, and one of fatal import to the Earl of Essex. In it, Sir Ferdinando states that he was present, on the request of the Earl, at a meeting of the Earl's friends held on the Tuesday before the insurrection. At that meeting the persons assembled—the conspirators as they may be justly termed—were encouraged by the production of a list of one hundred and twenty "Earls, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen," whom the Earl reckoned upon as his friends. Three projects were submitted to the meeting for their decision. 1st. Should they begin by attempting the Tower, or the Court? Or, 2nd. Should they first rouse the City? Or, 3rd. Should they make a simultaneous attack upon both the Tower and the Court? After considerable discussion the general opinion seemed to incline towards making their first attempt upon the Court, and Sir John Davis proceeded to assign the places of the several leaders. Sir Ferdinando's examination continues as follows, in a passage altogether omitted by Bacon. "Having proceeded thus far, I was asked what I thought of it; my answer was, I utterly disliked that course, for besides the horror of it wherewith I found myself afflicted, I saw an impossibility for that means to accomplish it. The means they did urge to be sufficient, for, as they seemed to assure themselves, the greatest resistance that was likely to be made was by the guard; and of many of

them there was no doubt to be had, for they had been my Lord's servants. Notwithstanding, I would not condescend to that course ; whereupon my Lord of Southampton, in a kind of passion, demanded this, ' Shall we resolve upon nothing, then ? It is three months or more since we first undertook this.' My reply was, ' It was more than I knew.' I was demanded what I could then advise that my Lord should do ? ' If there be a necessity,' I answered, ' that he must do something, let him stir his friends in the City, of whom you say he is so well assured.' This was so evil liked of, that we brake up, and resolved of nothing, but referred all to my Lord of Essex himself. After this I never saw my Lord, nor heard anything from him, until Saturday night ; when he resolved the next day to put in practice the moving of his friends in the City, upon the occasion aforesaid ; and of my opinion was Mr. Littleton." <sup>a</sup>

This portentous testimony seems to have stung the Earl of Essex to the quick. He saw instantly its deadly bearing, and set himself to counteract the effect which it was calculated to produce upon the peers. Up to this moment the evidence had been given, not *vivâ voce*, but, according to the common practice of that time, by reading written examinations of the witnesses. The Earl challenged the production of Sir Ferdinando " face to face." Sir Ferdinando was sent for, and the Court waited for his appearance. He arrived in custody, and was brought into Court. The Earl met the glance of his late confederate with features, as Camden remarks, pale and discomposed. The haughtiness with which he had outfaced and outwangled Sir Edward Coke altogether disappeared, and with obvious sorrow, as well as anger, he proceeded, not to deny the main facts alleged in the evidence of Sir Ferdinando—that he never did—but to insinuate doubts as to his honesty. " Good Sir Ferdinando," remarked Essex, " I pray thee speak openly whatsoever thou dost remember ; with all my heart I desire thee to speak freely ; I see thou desirest to live, and if it please her Majesty to be merciful unto you I shall be glad, and will pray for it ; yet, I pray thee, speak like a man." Sir Ferdinando referred to his examination as containing all that he could remember : " Further," he added, " I cannot say." Essex rejoined, " Sir Ferdinando, I wish you might speak anything that might do yourself good ; but remember your reputation, and that you are a gentleman. I pray you answer me : Did you advise me to leave my enterprize ?"

Sir Ferdinando answered, " My Lord, I think I did."

" Nay," said Essex, instantly taking advantage of the slip, " It is no time to answer now upon thinking ; these are not things to be forgotten. Did you indeed so counsel me."

One can enter into the feeling of anxiety with which the reply was waited for.



Sir Ferdinando seems to have shrunk before the supercilious and indignant bearing of the Earl, but his answer was decided, "I did."

Turning from the fatal witness to the peers, Essex exclaimed, "My Lords, look upon Sir Ferdinando, and see if he looks like himself. All the world shall see, by my death and his life, whose testimony is the truest."

A few words passed between the Earl of Southampton and Gorges, and then, it is stated in the account of the trial, "Sir F. Gorges withdrew;" it was under the imputation, and with the general belief, that he had sold himself to the enemies of his patron and political chief, and had secured his own safety by straining his testimony against the impetuous but high-minded Earl.

This was only one of the popular charges against Sir Ferdinando. It will be remembered that when rumours came to the court, on the morning of Sunday the 8th February, that Essex was gathering his adherents and fortifying his house, the Lord Keeper Egerton, the Lord Chief Justice Popham, Sir William Knollys, and the Earl of Worcester were sent to the Earl to demand an explanation of his intentions, and to charge him on his allegiance to disband his followers. After some delay the noble messengers were admitted at the wicket-gate of Essex House, but they were admitted alone, all their servants being kept out. In the courtyard they found themselves in the midst of a tumultuous assembly, which greeted them with threats and exclamations of "Kill them! Kill them!" Essex interfered. He silenced the ferocious clamours of his desperate band, but led the dignified ambassadors within doors, and there made them his prisoners. They were committed to the custody of a party of musketeers, commanded by three gentlemen, of whom one was Francis Tresham, afterwards concerned in the Gunpowder Plot. Essex then immediately sallied forth to make his attempt to rouse the city. As soon as it became clear that he should fail, his mind reverted to his noble prisoners in Essex House. Hemmed in on every side, it seemed scarcely possible for any one to get out of the city to communicate with them, but Essex directed Sir Ferdinando Gorges to make the attempt, and, if he succeeded, to release the Lord Chief Justice, and request him to accompany Gorges to her Majesty and inform her what was really the Earl's design. Gorges accomplished his errand; but, when he proposed the intended mission to the Lord Chief Justice, the stout legal functionary boldly refused to accept his liberty, unless his fellow-prisoner the Lord Keeper was also permitted to depart. Gorges declared that he thought the Earl's design would be best accomplished by releasing all the prisoners, and he accordingly did so. Essex's friends were of opinion that Gorges did wrong, and suspected that he overstepped his commission in order to ground a claim for mercy to himself. They argued that these prisoners were hostages in the Earl's hands; that so long as he had them in his custody he had the power of making terms for himself;

when they were gone, the Earl was at the mercy of his enemies. This was a second charge against Gorges.

A third charge against him arose out of a meeting between himself and Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh was one of the earliest to hear of the Earl's wild intentions. Sir Ferdinando was his relation. Raleigh sent to him, early on the morning of the insurrection, to come in all haste to Durham House, to speak with him. Gorges communicated the message to the Earl, who consented that he should go, but directed him to hold his interview, not in Durham House, but on the Thames. He did so, and the following is Gorges's account of what took place. "As for the conference that past between Sir Walter Raleigh and myself, it was only this. I protest to the Almighty God! When his boat came to me (he being all alone, and I having with me two gentlemen) he told me that he had sent for me to admonish me to make all haste out of the town, down to my charge, for that there was a warrant out for the sending me to the Fleet. For his kind advertisement I gave him thanks, but told him withall (for that I knew the present occasion would presently discover itself) that it came too late, for I had engaged myself in another matter. He further inquiring of me what it was, I told him there were two thousand gentlemen that had resolved that day to live or die free men. He pronounced unto me that he heard not of it until that morning, but did not see what they were able to do against the Queen's authority. My answer was, it was the abusing of that by him and others that made so many honest men resolve to seek a reformation thereof. His reply was, that no man was without a colour for their intent, and therefore advised me to look unto myself, and to remember my duty and allegiance. I answered, I knew not any man that did not more respect his allegiance than his life, as the end would make apparent; and thus he parted to the Court and I to Essex House." The people, with whom Essex was extremely popular, suspected that at this interview Gorges contrived to communicate to "the fox," as Essex termed Sir Walter Raleigh, the particulars of the Earl's intended movements, and thus enabled the government to make timely preparation to receive him. Gorges declares that he did not leave Essex House to meet Raleigh until nine o'clock, by which time "it is well known the Queen and Lords were already advertised of the Earl's preparations, and had given order for drawing men from the villages about the city for the present defence of her Majesty's person, and resolved that certain of the Lords of the Council should go to Essex House."

The defence of Sir Ferdinando is principally directed against the three points which I have indicated. Calm, forcible, and argumentative, it is written with spirit and vigour, and there is a touching pathos in the conclusion which it would be difficult to surpass. Writhing under the imputations which the Earl had cast upon

him, he yet extenuates and excuses his mistake; he joins no vulgar cry nor prejudice against him; he does not seek to save himself by flattering the Earl's enemies, or traducing his memory, but declares, with a manliness which one does not like to believe to have been disjoined from honesty, that he esteemed him to be inwardly as full of worth and virtue as he was outwardly beautiful and adorned in the opinion and the eyes of the world. "Who was there," he says, "that seemed more industrious and careful to nourish virtue in all men than he? Whether he was a divine or soldier, a wise commonwealth's man or a good lawyer, to all these he endeavoured to be an excellent benefactor and faithful protector. And who was there that seemed more willingly to expose himself to all hazards and travail for his prince's or country's service than he? Who ever more willingly spent his own estate, and all that by any means he could get, for the public good of his country? The daily experience that I had thereof, and the undoubted opinion of his good meaning therein, was the cause that bound me so inseparably to him. . . . He was of the same profession that I was, and of a free and noble spirit. But I must say no more, for he is gone and I am here. I loved him alive, and cannot hate him being dead. He had some imperfections—so have all men. He had many virtues—so have few. And for those his virtues I loved him; and when Time, which is the trial of all truths, hath run his course, it shall appear that I am wronged in the opinion of this idle age. In the meantime, I presume this that I have said is sufficient to satisfy the wise and discreet; for the rest, whatever I can do is but labour lost."

There are many circumstances connected with the position and character and subsequent life of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, which I should have thought it right to consider if I had entered fully into the question of the truth or falsehood of the charges brought against him in connection with the Earl of Essex. In your forthcoming work I am sure that all those circumstances, with probably many others which your researches at the State Paper Office have made you acquainted with, but of which I am ignorant, will be fully and fairly dwelt upon. In that confidence I comply with your wish in publishing the following paper, and, having done so, leave the subject with pleasure in your able hands; and I am,

My dear Mr. Vice-President,

Yours very truly,

JOHN BRUCE.

John Payne Collier, Esq. V.P.S.A.

&c. &c. &c.



MS. Cotton. Julius F. vi. fol. 423.

A breefe answer to certayne false, slanderous, and idle objections made agaynst S<sup>r</sup> Ferd. Gorges, knighte, as if he had ben a man of purpose employed to practize the ruine of the late Earle of Essex, playnly shewing the untruthe and impossibility therof. Written in the Gatehouse.

To the ho<sup>l</sup> and discreete who ar nether partiall in affection nor voyde of understandinge.

IN this my discourse, I coulde have ben contented to have intreated my ho<sup>l</sup> and worthy frenndes (who have always knowne mee by many likelyhoods and probabilityes, more then in the discourse it selfe I shall speake of) to implore theyr labors to have satisfyed any reasonable man for the disprovinge of that w<sup>ch</sup> is so coñionly and slaunderously bruted of mee: but that I know it needelesse, in as muche as every wise and vertuouse nature, duly wayinge what is sayd w<sup>th</sup> every circumstance, will not \* of the love they beare to vertue it selfe, seeke to approve and manifeste theyr owne wisdoms and generouse mindes by contradictinge the vanity of the worlde, or condemninge the base natures of those that be so lavish in censuring of any whome they have knowne or hearde to have alwayes helde the reputaçon of an honest man, espetially at that time when his case is such that hee nether can or may make a free answer for the approbaçon of his innocency therein. I am not ignorant, how the distemper of the time hath caused the idle humors of men's braynes, that ar almoste in a frenzy w<sup>th</sup> the mallice of theyr hartes, to disgeast it selfe into theyr untamed tongues, and now findinge a subject of whome they may freely speake, they spare not to make apparant the vildnes of theyr natures. An other kinde of creature I have heard of that will heare nothinge but w<sup>th</sup> theyr eyes, see nothinge but w<sup>th</sup> their eares, for what shaddow they see they will force it to be a substance, and in som cases all substance must bee but shaddowes; so heddy or senseles the common people ar, carefull only to swiñe w<sup>th</sup> the streame, and will not bee capable of understandinge themselves, or sensible of any other kinde of vertue in others, who (although they cannot deny the truthe, or enter into the reason for w<sup>ch</sup> thinges were don, yet will they say somethinge to ease theyr stomacks, and speake like themselves) will curse and rayle at the innocente, as if theyr conceytes were gospells, or the reports (w<sup>ch</sup> they have uncertaynly receaved) oracles. But I know the ho<sup>l</sup>, wise, and vertuouse, as they ar sparinge to censure evell of a well deserving minde, so can they, and will, (I ashure my selfe,) both judge and speake the truthe, to the approvinge of my honest affection to my deceased freinde (howsoever I may seeme to acknowledge my selfe to have forgotten my duety to her Ma<sup>ty</sup>, for w<sup>ch</sup> my offence I acknowledge my selfe to have receaved mercy and justice). To this I know som bookewise gallant may happely carpe at my labors, bycause it wantethe ether forme, eloquent wordes, wise sentences, or any other such like exceptions, w<sup>ch</sup> (I confesse) may be justly taken unto it; but my hope is that the worthy and those of judgmente will looke into the matter and sence and beare w<sup>th</sup> these faultes, and also pardon these defectes of my rude and harshe manner of writinge; remembringe it is the labor but of a playne souldier, and on that is no scholler, who is desyrous only to deliver the truthe in its owne nature

\* So in the MS.; but the sense seems to require "out."

and kynde for the satisfyinge of his ho<sup>ll</sup> and privat freindes, and not the travayle of a cunninge sophiste y<sup>t</sup> will take upon him to make white black, and black white; such learninge I never affected, if I had, my leasure would never have afforded mee time to practise it.

Peruse this therfor w<sup>th</sup> patience, I pray you, and censure not of on parte untill ye have read the whole, for each doubt that may arise will be answered w<sup>th</sup> that w<sup>ch</sup> doth follow; and the heavenly God open your eyes, and give y<sup>r</sup> heartes understandinge that ye may sensibly feele (w<sup>ch</sup> I doubt not but you will when you have read that w<sup>ch</sup> followethe) the wronges w<sup>ch</sup> I have receaved by those false imputaçons wherw<sup>th</sup>all I am charged; in the meane time assiste mee, I desyre you, w<sup>th</sup> your prayers to the Almighty, that he will give mee patience in this my untimely afflictions to indure unto the ende that his divine pleasure will lay upon mee, to whose æternal protection I hartely commende y<sup>u</sup>. From the Gatehouse, the 14th of June, 1601.

## CAP. I.

The unlikelyhood and impossibility that I could consente to the betrayinge of my L. of Essex.

Great is the disadvantage that a man hathe, who is to justify his innocency in those thinges for w<sup>ch</sup> he is condemned by the worlde, w<sup>ch</sup> for the most parte is blinded in affection, or ignorant of the truthe, for whatsoever hee can say or write is read or hearde w<sup>th</sup> a præjudicate opinion, every on beleiving that a man is bounde to speake for himselfe, or to excuse his owne faultes. Notwithstandinge, sithence the truthe beareth no shame, or needethe to be deckd w<sup>th</sup> no colours but its owne, never blushing, how disgracefully soever respected, I offer the examinaçõ of that w<sup>ch</sup> followethe to the wise and discrete, who will (I doubt not) confesse, if I weare as able to make it appeare that I did not forget my duety to her Ma<sup>y</sup>, to whome I must acknowledge it was moste due, as I am able to prove I discharged my faythfull love to my Lo. of Essex, I should not need to be now behouldinge to any for my life, or indure y<sup>t</sup> miserable affliction I doe, by w<sup>ch</sup> meanes I have brought my selfe and my estate to ruine, how innocent soever my harte were from intendinge any evell, or knowinge any evell to be intended or purposed to the person or authority of her Highnes.

And I hope no mā did ever esteeme mee to be ether a foole or a mad man; but if I had consented to the ruine of the Earle of Essex I had shewed myselfe to have ben bothe. For was there ever any that had his witts or understandinge that would enterprise such a matter and not compounde for his rewarde, or at the least be freed himselfe from all after daungers? And the world may see that nether of these I have don; and unto mee I am assured it is to apparenthe, for I do continually feele the heavy indignaçõ of her Ma<sup>y</sup> justly to lye upon mee; and besides that I have all places of commaunde and commodity taken from mee to the undoinge of my selfe and mine, my person is still detayned in prison, where how longe I shall remaine God only dothe knowe, or after what manner I shall com out, when I do, whether as a banished, a confined, or a dead man, but if otherwise, I must acknowledge it to bee more of her Ma<sup>y</sup><sup>es</sup> gratiouse and

infinite mercy then of my merit, or by mee to be expected, by reason of any promise or composition that ever I ether made, propounded, concluded, or thought on. And for matter of rewarde I am so far from expectinge any as I shall thinke myselfe infinitely happy to enjoy my life and liberty, w<sup>th</sup> leave only to seeke my fortune where I shall finde best meanes to make it. But if any thinge had ben voluntarily don by mee to the prejudice of the Earle, shurely this needed not to have befallen mee. If it be objected, notwithstandinge, all this misery I suffer is but a color to blinde the worlde w<sup>th</sup>all, I must answer, I know my reputaçon and estate doth not depende upon the vulgar or greater parte of the people, but only upon her Ma<sup>tyes</sup> gratiouse favor, and the estimaçon and regarde theyr Lo<sup>p<sup>ties</sup></sup> have of mee, whome if I could have satisfyed would have ben a sufficient warrante and protection to have avowed my proceedinge whatever I had don in that behalfe. And if I have no neede to make use of any such polesy in respect of satisfyinge the worlde, muche lesse have those by whose authority I still remayne in durance. Therfor out of question it is not don for polesy nor indured of mee for pleasure, but only inflicted for a ponishment for my offence. Agayne, let them behoulde (that this thinke) who is in possession of all that ever I had, and they shall finde that they ar the freindes and allyes of those, whome it is saide I did practise w<sup>th</sup>all. And doth any man thinke so great a wronge could be offered mee, if I had so well deserved as it is sayde or imagined I did, by bringinge to lighte and ruin so daungerouse a praetise, and so great an enemy, as that was beleevd the Earle would have ben? No, no, it standeth not w<sup>th</sup> nature to endure, if I could will or chuse, therfor no reason to beleve it.

Further, I desyre that all men should know, that I am not ignorante what it is and how unworthy an enterprise it were, for any of reputaçon to accepte or undertake to be treacherouse where hee pretendeth the faythfull and unfayned love, and I will speake thus much for my owne parte, nether to deceave others nor to flatter myselfe, ther was yet never any man to whome I protested love unto that afterwarde I could possibly hate, though I cannot as an only freinde love many at once, nor yet like him that doth unjustly hate the person of \* love, much lesse condisente to the betrayinge of him, to such as were his enemyes, and to mee no assured freindes.

Lastly, in this my discourse it is to be noted, that whatsoever I did confesse or could have don was but of matter acted and consulted of from the laste of January 1601 to the 9th of February 1601; and that I had not hearde from my Lorde in 2 yeaeres before, till the letter hee sente for mee to com upp. Also, that hee never unfoulded any thinge to mee but his purpose and a desyre to be free and seure from the malice and powre of his private enemyes. That hee had matter suffieiente to penne them from the person and p<sup>s</sup>ence of her Ma<sup>ty</sup> whensoever hee should have meanes to have a free and safe accesse to her himselfe. And I, perceavinge that hee intended to make his way by force wherw<sup>th</sup> to resiste any opposition of (those he called) his enemyes, before I would joyne with him I expected and conditioned to assure me uppō his soule and salvaçon hee intended no p<sup>j</sup>udice to the person of her Ma<sup>tye</sup>; secondly, not to take by force or unjust meanes the life of any, but to proceede in the course of his complaynte to the Qucene and psecution of his enemyes accordinge to the lawe and justice of the lande. Thus much his Lo<sup>pp</sup>

\* Probably this should be "the person I love." It is printed as it stands in the MS.



in effecte acknowledged at the barr the day of his arraynmente; wherfor if (as it is manifest) I knew nether of his intente before the instante, nor perswaded him to any treasonable action, how could I bee imployed by any to practize upon him as it is sayd (though unprobably) I was?

The contrary will appeare when the truthe (that for a season may be sieke but yet will never dye) shall com to lighte, for I always advised him, and bound him by oathes, to his allegiance, shewed him in his extremity the safest course, although hee could not lay hould on it; but if I had ben imployed to practise upon him, I might have found meanes to have ben continually at his hande, nether would I have heald him to any justifiable a course, nor ever advised him to keepe himselfe from any lawfull advantage his enemyes might have agaynst him, and evermore to deale upon good groundes, and never to violate ether lawe or conscience.

Howbeit I heare that S<sup>r</sup> Christop. Blunte hathe confessed former practises and purposes more then ever I heard of, or would have condescended unto if I had ben accquaynted w<sup>th</sup> them; wherfor (if so it were) I was deceaved by his oathe and protestaçon, and not hee by mee for any thinge I did. And I assure myselfe that when the Almighty God his will is to bringe to lighte the truthe, the worlde will confesse I have ben most unjustly and falsely belyed by those reportes that have ben so confidently bruted of mee. In the meane time, I pray you to examine the particulars, w<sup>th</sup> my answers and y<sup>r</sup> judgments, and afterwarde speake accordinge to y<sup>r</sup> vertues and noblenes of your mindes in the defence of the innocent what you thinke or knowe.

## CAP. 2.

The cause and manner of my goinge to S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawly, and my conference w<sup>th</sup> him, not any wayes pjudiciall to the Earle his proceedinges.

To com to the particulars of those objections wherby it seemethe to be most manifeste I was imployed to practize agaynst the Earle. First, I will beginne w<sup>th</sup> that conference I had that Sunday morninge w<sup>th</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Wal. Rawligh, at what time, it is sayde, I did laye open all his counsell and purposes. The likelyhood and truthe of this is best to bee understoode if you consider the cause of my goinge unto him and the manner therof.

First, I was sent unto that morninge by S<sup>r</sup> Walt. Rawligh to com in all haste to Durraim Howse, to speake w<sup>th</sup> him, and by any meanes I was to go by water. But before I wente, I advertised my Lord of as muche, shewinge him w<sup>th</sup>all the direction and manner how I was assigned to goe (w<sup>ch</sup> I needed not to have don if I had purposed any treachery), who upon counsell and deliberation was willinge I should goe, but directed to speake w<sup>th</sup> him upon the Thames, the w<sup>ch</sup> I observed, and to take w<sup>th</sup> mee a garde for the securinge of my returne, doubting least any thinge might bee purposed for the impeachinge therof.

Next is to be considered the time, w<sup>ch</sup> was full nine of the clock before I went from Essex Howse, before w<sup>ch</sup> it is well knowne that her Ma<sup>ty</sup> and the Ll<sup>ds</sup> were advertised of my Lord his preparation (though the particuler of his intente was not knowne), and had given order for the drawinge in of men from the villages about the citty for the present defence of her Ma<sup>tyes</sup> person, and resolved that certayne of the Lordes of the Councell should go to Essex House, to assaye if, by commande or admonishmente, the presente fury could have ben appeased, or at least

deferred, till better provision of offence or defence might bee made, and those LL. were arrived at Essex Howse comininge by lande as soone as myselfe that come and went by water, the w<sup>ch</sup> could not bee upon any resolution taken of any conference w<sup>th</sup> Sr Walt. Raleigh, for they were departed from the Courte before hee could bee arrived there. Also, in the morninge before this ther had ben a cōmaundemente given to the Citty, that every man should bee in a reddines both in person and armes, but notw<sup>th</sup>standinge to keepe w<sup>th</sup>in his howse, till they received further directions or cōmaundement what to doe.

As for the conference that passed between Sr Walt. Rawley and myselfe, it was only this, I protest to the Almighty God. When his boate came to mee (he beinge all alone, and I havinge w<sup>th</sup> mee two Gent<sup>l</sup>) he toulde mee that hee had sente for mee to admonish mee to make all haste out of the Towne downe to my charge, for that there was a warrant out for the sendinge mee to the Fleete. For his kinde advertisement I gave him thanks, but tould him w<sup>th</sup>all (for that I knew the present occasion would presently discover itselfe) that it eame to late, for I had ingaged my selfe in an other matter; hee farther inquiringe of mee what it was, I told him ther were two thousand Gentlemē that had resolved that daye to live or dye free men. Hee pronounced unto mee, hee heard not of it untill that morninge, but did not see what they were able to do agaynst the Queenes authority. My answer was, it was the abusinge of that, by him and others, that made so many honest men resolve to seeke a reforma<sup>ti</sup>on therof. His replye was, that no man was w<sup>th</sup>out a colour for theyr intente, and therfor advised mee to looke unto my selfe, and to remember my duety and allegiance. I answered, "I knew not any m<sup>a</sup> that did not more respect his allegiance then his life, as the ende would make apparent;" and thus hee parted to the Courte and I to Essex Howse.

In all this what was by mee discovered or don that became not a free spirit, or wherin did it give prejudice to my Lorde his proceedings? If it bee demaunded of mee why I did not take Sr Walt. Rawley then;—First, it was not a matter I ever purposed, though many vaynely perswaded mee so to doe; secondly, I never held it an acte fittinge amongst mē to betray any that repose trust in us, and hee puttinge himselfe into my handes, w<sup>th</sup> what honesty could I have avowed so barbarous a deede, unlesse hee had given mee the first occasion by violent deedes and unkinde words, for ether of the w<sup>ch</sup> I was both resolved and prepared. And at my returne I delivered unto my Lorde particularly what had passed between Sr W. R. and my selfe, all w<sup>ch</sup> he received w<sup>th</sup> his applause and good likinge, as it is to be testified by those that were then present and yet alive.

### CAP. III.

The delivery of the Lordes was by the Earles allowance and direction whē they had no hope to make any other benefit of thē.

As concerninge my delivery of the LL. of the councell, w<sup>ch</sup> if I had not don (as it is sayd) the Earle might have made what composition hee had listed, both for himselfe and others, it beinge a matter of the greatest consequence, and most likelihood of truthe, I thought it fit to give the

more particular accounte of my doinge in that behalfe, shewing (w<sup>th</sup>all) bothe the reasons and necessity that that advise and resolution was to be followed; therby approvinge my purpose unto my Lorde and the rest to be good, and it was the only counsell to be followed, and absolute hope that remainyd for him, in so great an extremity.

For, when I saw that in all likelyhood and reason ther was no hope left for him to recover his owne howse, perceavinge that all the portes and passages were guarded and defended, and findinge that diverse, both nobles and others, had quited him, som of the best that remainyd devisinge by what meanes to shifte for themselves, all w<sup>ch</sup> I was nether so voyde of judgment or understandinge but did well know and perceive; in consideration wherof, when wee came to the chayne at Ludgate, and saw it defended w<sup>th</sup> men armed and in good order, havinge their officers and theyr heades, and seeminge no meanes that wee had sufficient to force them, I thought it best to attempte som other course, and first I made tryall, by fayre language to Sir John Lucy<sup>a</sup> (that had commande of the troopes w<sup>ch</sup> defended that place), to give my Lorde a free passage; in the w<sup>ch</sup> not prevaylinge, I returned to my Lorde, to shew him how impossible it was for him to passe that way, w<sup>th</sup> the meanes he had, as also to know what other resolution or course hee would take; to whome havinge delivered my opinion, I gave him further to understande what I thought fit as the laste and only hope for him to depende on, remembringe him that now hee was to make benefit of the Lords that were in his howse, w<sup>th</sup>all, if so it pleased him, I would attempte to go alone unto them, and w<sup>th</sup> them to go to her Mat<sup>y</sup>, by whose meanes and sollicitaçon only ther was hope shee might be drawne to some tolerable condiçons of peace.

To this my opinion I was perswaded by many reasons; as, first, I knew into a greater inconvenience hee could not fall then at the present hee was in, seeing that all hopes hee depended on had fayled him, notw<sup>th</sup>standinge I knew the affliction and feare that was apprehended (through the opinion that was conceaved of the greatnes of my Lordes meanes to bee far more then it was) might bee no small reason to perswade an acception of submission w<sup>th</sup> security rather then to hazarde a course daungerous w<sup>th</sup> doubt of successe; and to bringe this to passe I made the lesse doubt, if I might my selfe have com in a place to have delivered my Lordes tale, or at the leaste so far foorth to have possest her Mat<sup>y</sup> of the causes that moved my Lord to this his attempte, and the reasons that drewe the noblemen and gent<sup>e</sup> to joyne w<sup>th</sup> him, wherby the prosecutinge of it w<sup>th</sup> extremity might have ben deferrd, or the offence of the rest made more excusable; ether of these, as occasions should have offred, I purposed to have prosecuted, as afterwarde in the best fashion I coulede I did, as it is well knowne to som of the Lordes.

Now I was the more confident in this my opinion, out of the observation I had made of the unwillingnes of the people's dispositions to offer any thinge agaynst my Lorde or any of his, notw<sup>th</sup>standinge any proclamations or cōmāunde that had ben given, wherby I was out of doubt if my Lord coulede (as my hope and advise was to him to do) but have kept himselfe but three houres longer in the citty (wher I was shure his dispayre could not bee so easily perceived) to have brought ether all or the most of this that I have spoken of to passe. And of this my opinion I was not much deceived, as heereafter you shall perceive. Heereupon, after som doubt

<sup>a</sup> So written in the MS., but in the margin, and also interlined, is written "Lewson," in another hand. Lewson, or Leveson, is right.



that my Lord had made of the impossibility of my recoveringe Essex Howse, and som hope that hee sawe was to be expected, if I could get thither, by that meanes, hee gave mee directions to goe, referringe the manner of my proceedinge to my owne discretion, the time nor place not permitting any large instructions or directions to be given; wheruppō I departed, havinge only used the name of my Lord Cheefe Justice unto him, mindinge indeede that none shoulde have gon but him. But when I arived at Essex Howse, and had made reporte of as much as I thought fit to his Lor<sup>pp</sup>, and had desyred him to be goinge, hee refused it, except my Lorde Keeper might also go w<sup>th</sup> him; wherupon I, that knew ther were no delayes to bee used at that time, made replie therunto, as a matter so intended, and therfor desyred theyr Lord<sup>ps</sup> more at large, in the boate, what was my Lorde his petition and desyre to obtayne from her Ma<sup>ty</sup>, as also the particular reasons that moved both himselfe and the rest of the nobility to undertake that course they had begunne.

When theyr Lor<sup>ps</sup> were settē in the boate, wher my Lo. of Worcester was also, I first, as briefely as I coude, delivered unto them what a number of people there were assembled in the behalfe of my Lo. of Essex, and the doubt what the successe heerof might bee, w<sup>th</sup> all the daunger that might insue if my Lorde were forced to make his passage over the belly of the subject, to give himselfe a free and safe accesse to the soverayne Ma<sup>ty</sup>, and therfor that all industry and indeavor to prevente the one and the other was to bee used, no delayes to bee made, nor neece poyntes to bee stooode upon; that theyr Lor<sup>ps</sup>, as the fathers of the kingdom, under her Hlighness, were now both to shew theyr wisdoms and authoreties.

Then my next petiçōn was, that her Ma<sup>ty</sup> might know from my Lorde the occasion that forced him and his freindes to joyne themselves together in this loathsom extreame and last refuge of armes, notw<sup>th</sup>standinge if my Lorde and they had ben mistaken by any false informaçōn, that then all matters might easily have ben pacified.

In the meane time, that her Ma<sup>ty</sup> would be pleased for the present pacifyinge of the fury of men iraged, as also the security of her owne person and preservation of that blood the w<sup>ch</sup> was like to be spilte, to graunte a gratiouse assurance that my Lord and the rest might bee free from ecceptance of that dayes attempte, and that shee would bee pleased to graunte her gratiouse promise to heare w<sup>th</sup> her owne eares both what hee was able to say in his owne justificaçōn and excuse of his freindes, to whose mercifull feete both hee and they desyred in all humility to throwe downe themselves, so as they might not bee persecuted by any injurious suggestions of theyr privat enemyes for what they had don that day, to prevente whose indirect dealinges they had don as they did.

All this theyr Lor<sup>ps</sup> assured mee to acquaynt her Ma<sup>ty</sup> w<sup>th</sup>all, by the w<sup>ch</sup> time wee were arived to the Courte; then they required mee to follow them, w<sup>ch</sup> I did into the privy chamber, and theyr Lor<sup>ps</sup> goinge to the Queene I sollicitēd what they had undertaken so effectually, as I perceaved by those that came up and downe, that ther was som reason to hope of the good successe therof, the rather for that I understand my Lorde Admirall and Mr. Secretary were sent for to resolve on some course to bee taken therein, but at this instantē Mr. Secretary receaved advertisemente that my Lorde was fledd unto his howse, wheruppon it was apparent that then the Earle was at her Mat<sup>yes</sup> mercy w<sup>th</sup>out any conditions, and I was instantly cōmitted to pryson, where ever since I have remayned. Thus y<sup>u</sup> have seene that my delivery of the Ll<sup>ds</sup> was upon advise and

direction of my Lorde himselſe, out of the understanding and hope of good thereby to have befallen him, and it was that time when ther was no hope for him to make any other benefit of them, himselſe havinge reason to despaire the recovery of his howse, and indeede no reason to attempte the goinge thither, knowing if hee were driven out of the city his howse could afforde no meanes of defence, and therfor it is falsely sayde that I did it either dishonestly or treacherously, as to all men of honor or wisdom by this it may appeare.

## CAP. IV.

It is manifest in all reason that if I had not dd the L<sup>ds</sup> yet they could not have ben profitable to the Earle.

But, admit the Lords had not ben delivered, what hope was ther in reason for him to have received any benefit by them? for ther was none of y<sup>m</sup> but was much respected and beloved by him, besides two of them were neere allyed unto him in blood, and might have ben suspected for theyr to muche love unto him, espetially they havynge ben so frequent and ordinary w<sup>th</sup> him in all his former troubles. as also at the instant before this fell out; the other 2, as it was generally beleaved, were esteemed to bee partially inclyned in affection and love towards him, in regarde of the opposition of his enemyes; and therfor as well in nature as honor hee could not admit or condiscent that they should have indured wronge for his sake; also consideringe that they came thither in peaceable manner, as messingers or mediators to intreate his desistinge from any violente course to bee intended; but, admit it had com unto that, they must have offred their petition unto her Ma<sup>ty</sup> for their owne saftyes, for the obtayninge of her grace and mercy to my Lord and the reste for what had past. Doth any mā thinke that her M<sup>ty</sup> would not or did not more respect her own honor, saftety, and the publicke peace of her kingdom (all the w<sup>ch</sup> seemed at that time to bee in question), then theyr L<sup>or</sup>s? Although hee would have ben troubled and perplexed no doubt for them, notw<sup>th</sup>standinge it had not ben fit, nor safe, to have spent much time in parlying about theyr freedoms, not knowinge what practises or partes were a foote, espetially seeinge diverse of her nobility ingaged, and others both of great estate and many freindes, and what roote it had taken, or into what head it was growne, could not suddenly be knowne, and therfor to prevente the greater mischeeffe the lesser was to bee chosen.

Wheras it may bee objected, the Prince in her honor would never have suffred the Lordes to perish; termes of honor in case of extremity Princes ar least ceremonious to observe, espetially when they remember, in all humayne actions ther is nothinge w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup> lesse perill they may not temporize and except then rebellion, in the oppression wherof ther is no greater vertue then expediçō, for that by how muche it is suffred by so much it riseth into degrees of worse, as a soare that is lingered growes in the ende a cure doubtfull; and therfor knowinge that wise providence is truely more hono<sup>le</sup> then fonde ceremonyes can possibly bee profitable, in as muche as the on giveth security w<sup>th</sup> contente, the other threatning daunger w<sup>th</sup> shame, they should not have givē any impeditente to her expedition, consideringe farther, that it is better to p<sup>r</sup>vente a mischiffe in time then to repent in idle complemente to late.

Besides, what knew her Ma<sup>ty</sup>, upon a sudden and consideringe the probabilityes aforesayde, but that they might have ben linked in counsell and confederacy w<sup>th</sup> the rest, or at least have

willingly stayed there to bee a meanes, if the worse had not hapned, to have by theyr sollicitaçon drawne her Ma<sup>ty</sup> to the pardoninge of his offence for the redeeminge of theyr lives; and why shoulde shee not bee doubtfull or suspitious of this, hearinge how many did applaude if not joyne themselves in the enterprise? Last of all, if these arguments be not sufficiente in the con-  
caytes of any not acquainted w<sup>th</sup> the pokesyes and resoluçons of princees, let inquiry be made of the Lordes themselves, who had reason to know as much as others and to hope for the beste, and I assure my selfe that they will answer that they verely do beleewe that they must have dyed w<sup>th</sup> the reste, before the prince would have yealded to more then was afterwarde assented unto. And, out of this theyr assurance, they have thought themselves both in honor and nature bounde to requite mee w<sup>th</sup> any thinge that either was or is in theyr powres, to the savinge of my life. But, if since they have founde that so difficult a matter, w<sup>th</sup> keepinge my blood from beinge taynted, how unable had they ben to have pacified the princees indignaçon agaynst my Lorde and the rest? and it is playne that nether the respect of theyr authorities, nor the greatnes of theyr favors, can continew unto mee either my places, or procure from her Ma<sup>ty</sup> any kinde of meanes, so much as to defray the charge of my imprisonmente, much lesse to maintayne my estate or reputaçon, so small is my gettinge by the one, and so great is my misery by the other; wherby it is manifest I did nothinge as a false affected freinde, but do heereby approve my meeninge to my Lorde of Essex was not evell in my delivery of the Lords, nor was it don without discretion or understandinge, as well as leave and direction, as also hope of som good therby to have ensued to his Lor<sup>sh</sup>; nor if they had remayned could they have ben profitable unto him, as by this that hath ben sayde may playnely appeare, therfor if it did not yealde that successe that was desired ther was no faulte in my endeavors.

## CAP. V.

The cause of my confession, and the somme therof no more then my Lorde himselfe might have acknowledged w<sup>th</sup>out the impayringe of his cause.

Now, as concerninge my confession, the w<sup>ch</sup> is the next thinge to bee spoken of, ether why it was so much or any thinge at all? I shall desyre you to consider these 3 thinges; first, if I had refused to have sayd any thinge, it might have ben beleewed that I had ben meere obstinate; secondly, in seeminge to make a free and playne confession, it was the better to bee credetted that I dealt sincerely and truly; lastely, makinge relaçon of thinges that might seeme of moment to mee, beinge in themselves wayed and considered by theyr judgments that were to have them in handlinge, I knew they would appear of no valewe or importe, as by the examinaçon of the particulers may appeare, as also the sequell and tryall, for hee was not condemned upon any thinge in my confession but for that of Drury-house, wherof I was not the first author (as by this it doth or may most playnly appeare,) but was only to acknowledge that the w<sup>ch</sup> was then alreddy by other men confessed, and if I had denyed it might have ben a just occasion for my freindes to have left mee, whose favors I healde, in hope that I of all others would deale playnely and truly in delivery of my knowledge; and therefore to make it appear I was nether obstinate, nor acquainted w<sup>th</sup> any former matter, I seemed so freely to acknowledge those



public actions of his the w<sup>ch</sup> in all reason I knew could not bee concealed, but that of Drury howse I was unwilling to call into my memory, till I sawe so good tokens that it was discovered by others, as I founde it; if I had denyed it, ther had ben no way w<sup>th</sup> mee but deathe, wherfor, beinge demanded concerninge that matter, I answered what had ben formerly discovered, never acknnowledginge other then that it was a private enterprise intended only against certayne particular persons, and no other ende did I know it, had I pronounced to the eternall God, for that w<sup>ch</sup> others have confest of themselves and theyr purposes, to bee otherwise then it did beare shewe of, and that themselves had publickly protested, I am no ways guilty of, for all mens oathes and protestacons to mee was of theyr love and allegiance to her Ma<sup>ty</sup>, and that while I did not knowe but that it had ben lawful for mee to joyne my selfe w<sup>th</sup> them, som of the w<sup>ch</sup> number I so dearly loved as ther was nothinge save the daunger of my soule that I would have refused to have don or adventured for theyr sakes, as in the sequell heerof it hath appeared. And the reason why I acknnowledge I had means to have taken or killed S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawlegh, was the better to make it appeare that ther was nether malitiose or boucherouse course intended to him or any, and also to give him cause to acknowledge himselfe in that respecte behouldinge unto mee, whereby to take from him occaion to exercise his powre, w<sup>ch</sup> I knewe to be great at that instante, to my ruine, for I did beleewe hee could not in reason bee so voyde of humane respect as not to requite on courtesy w<sup>th</sup> an other, as also it was no matter of treason against her Ma<sup>ty</sup>, but rather manifestacon of the contrary, approvinge this intente to bee particular agaynst S<sup>r</sup> Walf<sup>er</sup> Rawly and others.

## CAP. VI.

The cause of my cominge to avow my confession, the choyse beinge not in mee, and my Lord his speeches unto mee rather out of his misconceite then any just cause given him of mee.

If it bee demaunded why I did com furthe and avowe any thinge agaynst him, I must answer, the choyce was no more in mee then in my Lord to have refused to have com to his arraynemente, nor so much neither, for hee could but dye, the w<sup>ch</sup> he was assured of, and I might have som hope of life if I seemed not wilfull or obstinate. But hee denyinge somthinge that I had confessed, and I beinge at hande so neere as the Gate Howse to the Hall of Westminster, it was thought fit I should bee sent for, to approve it, although the matter itselfe w<sup>ch</sup> hee did denye was nothinge; for when I came, hee demaunded whether, yea or noe, I advised him from the attempte of ye Courte? wherunto when I answered I did, I desyred to have it testified by my Lorde of Southampton, then also at the barre. But in truthe what was either my perswasion or dissuasion to prove that hee did urge any suche thinge? Or, put the case it was a question propounded by him to his friendes, as so it was, where every on was to speake his opinion, and I differinge from others, might thinke it no enterprise for my Lorde to undertake, and theruppon might ether dislike or dissuade it, and afterwarde, beinge in question for the same, might deliver in favor of my selfe what my advise was then. This, I say, was nothing to my Lorde of any such momente, in regarde of ether what was don by him or confessed by others, that hee needed to have desyred mee to have ben brought before him.

Agayne, let it bee imagined, that, in private conference betweene my Lorde and mee, I did speake som wordes that might shew a possibility for him to accomplish his desyre if hee would attempte the Courte, upon w<sup>ch</sup> privat conference, callinge it to minde, might thinke I could not confesse I had dissuaded him from it, and therfor might conceave it to bee a matter imagined agaynst him rather then truly delivered by mee. As also my confession being the first and only evidence as then was read unto him, although the laste receaved. But why should I be more exeepted agaynst for my cominge thither, beinge brought out of cloase prison, then those that were both neerer unto him in blood and of Ho<sup>le</sup> authority, that came to justify agaynst him more then I did? w<sup>ch</sup> as it was not in theyr choyse as then to do otherwise, much lesse was it in mine, and therfor me thinkes it is an unreasonable thinge for any to expect an answer of mee, for my doinge as I did in that behalfe, much lesse do I deserve to bee condemned by it. By this y<sup>u</sup> see I could nether do lesse then was done, nor willingly did what I did, that might give cause of dislike or p̄judice unto my Lo., wherfor I doubt not, but, the p̄misses considered, I cannot receave just blame for cominge in place, beinge brought thither by publick authority; and while I was there I did not aggravate any thinge agaynst him, but ether answered in my owne excuse, or to the question hee propounded, shewing to the worlde, w<sup>ch</sup> I could not conceale, both my greefe and shame to bee so unfortunately miserable, that must bee brought in publick to condemne my selfe and accuse my freinde.

Wheras it may bee objected—Q. What sayd my Lord unto him at the Barre? To the w<sup>ch</sup> I answer, it were a harde taxe layde upon mee to require of mee a reason of every misconcayte or error my Lo. comitted; but, bycause this concernethe my selfe, I am the willinge to ackknowledge that hee had in som sorte just cause for his sayinge and doinge as hee did. First, for that ther had, as then, no other evydence ben read unto him, nor, happely, did hee thinke that any man else had confessed ought, wherfor resolvinge w<sup>th</sup> himselfe to denye the whole, hee was of opinion that the next way was to disgrace the credit of the reporter, and to lay upon him any imputaçon hee coulde, therby to disprove the likelyhood of the truthe therof. Secondly, for that hee might bee of opinion, or at leaste it might so seeme unto him, that I had com thither voluntarily, and that I had my life given mee to justify any thinge agaynst him, out of w<sup>ch</sup> misconceate hee might enter into a rage and mallice towards mee, and therfor out of the bitternes of his spirit hee might speake as hee did, although, of the twoe, I had most cause to bee offended w<sup>th</sup> him, that had for his sake both undon my selfe and mine, and in his quarrell lost all that I had, and my life, at that time, for oft I knewe, as farfoorth in question as his.

## CAP. VII.

The Councell and resoluçon of my Lo. of Essex the Sattarday night before hee went into the citty, and the reasons that perswaded his freindes to give theyr assentes therto.

Her Mat<sup>ty</sup> receaved dayly advertisemente of the concourse of people and greate resorte of Lordes and others to Essex howse, contrary (as it seemed) to her Highnes admonitions to him

at the time hee was made keeper unto himselfe, and doubting w<sup>th</sup>all what the issue therof might bee, the rather in regarde of the eminent causes of suspition that were made apparente, considerenge the discontented natures and dispositions of diverse of those that were most frequent and ordinarily noted to be neerest him, both in counsell and affection; and therfor to prevente any inconvenience that might by such a toleration insue, it was determined by her Ma<sup>y</sup> that hee should bee sent for before the Lordes of the Councell, whome shee required to admonish him of the manner of his livinge, and to comāunde him to drawe him selfe to a more retyred fashion, or otherwise shee should bee forced to take another course w<sup>th</sup> him.

Upon this resolu<sup>cion</sup> Secretary Harberte was sent to Essex Howse to require the Earle to com before the Lordes of her Ma<sup>y</sup>'s Councell, then at Salisbury courte, who havinge delivered his message, receaved for answer from the Earle, that he desired to be excused for that time, in as much as hee was not well at ease, but the truthe was indeede that hee presentlye apprehended a doubt leaste somthinge had ben discovered of what hee had formerly practised, and this suspition was the rather confirmed in him by reason that so hee had ben informed of som of his freindes, who advertised him of as much, to the ende to hasten him forward to the execution of what hee had deeply ingaged both himselfe and them, and therfor imagininge himselfe and his freindes better able to answer what they had don by armes then by lawe, he resolved ether to approve his purpose good or to dye in the defence therof.

But, upon this sudden muta<sup>cion</sup> and chaunge of resolu<sup>cion</sup>, all his former councells and purposes were altered, for nowe hee had made himselfe a defendante that before was resolved to bee an assaylante; such is y<sup>e</sup> successe of those whose desyre is greater then theyr courage, or whose wordes ar not seconded in so desperate a case w<sup>th</sup> deedes. His freindes upon this beinge assembled, hee acquainted them what had past, and to make his conceaved opinion the more undoubted, hee declared the manner howe hee was assigned to com unto the Lordes, the w<sup>ch</sup> was privat and by water, makinge no doubt if hee had so gon hee should have presently ben sent to the Tower; and, the better to confirme this in the conceyte of the rest, hee declared farther, that hee was advertised that ther were warrantes signed for the apprehendinge of diverse others, wheruppon every man beginninge to distrust the worste, and to thinke how to p<sup>re</sup>vent as much as lay in theyr powers, it was p<sup>re</sup>sently disputable, whether it were best to attempte the courte or to move the city or to go else where, but the opinion that all was discovered gave reason that the courte was provided sufficiently for defence, espetially ther beinge in our powers no meanes wherw<sup>th</sup>all to make p<sup>re</sup>sent attempte upon it; upon the w<sup>ch</sup> considera<sup>cion</sup> and reasons that designe was given over; then it was demaunded what reason my Lo. had to be assured the citizens would take armes in his behalfe, wherupon after many likelyhoods given, ther was no doubt of that to be made, then ther was no man but p<sup>re</sup>sently gave way to that opinion of attemptinge the puttinge them in armes, by whose helpe it had ben in his power to have don any thinge. The while this was in dispute ther came on to the dore, to whome my Lord himselfe wente, and as hee reported, hee was a messenger that came unto him from som of his freindes in the citty, who had sente to let his Lor<sup>pp</sup> know that ther had ben a brute of som harde measure intended agaynst him, and therfor desyred his Lor<sup>pp</sup> to acq<sup>ui</sup>aynt them w<sup>th</sup> the truthe therof, and w<sup>th</sup>all to send to them his pleasure what they shoulde doe, for that they were reddey and most desyrous



to hazard themselves in any thing to defend him agaynst the mallice of his private enemyes. To this hee returned them many thankes, and w<sup>th</sup>all sent them worde what had past, promising that they shoulde heare more from him that night or the next morninge, willinge w<sup>th</sup>all that they should stand upon theyr garde, for so would hee, and if they heard hee was assaulted they to com unto his reskewe; if they were, then hee and his freindes would com unto them. This direct message was the thinge that made all doubt of the citizens' forwardnes to joyne w<sup>th</sup> my Lorde to bee out of question; wheruppon it was resolved, the next morninge to put in execution the resolution of goinge into the citty, such an extremity by his delays from time to time had hee runne himselfe into, as now his laste hopes were absolutely to depende uppon the giddy multitude, from the w<sup>ch</sup> daunger nether coulde the importunity of his freindes perswade him, nor his owne knowledge of the doubtfull estate wherin hee stode make him any thinge the forwarder to the executinge of that hee had begunne. For still, when it came to the issue of actinge, so many difficultyes did appeare as were sufficient to deferre it from day to day, or rather, as I suppose, it being w<sup>th</sup>helde by a certayne fatall timerousnes, hee did let passe alwayes the opportunity, in so much as so it hapneth for the most parte, when the execution of great enterprises bee deferred, his purpose began to bee suspected. For her Ma<sup>ty</sup> sendinge for him to com before her Lordes was the occasion to approve that a guilty conscience is a thousand witnesses, for it was his refusall to go unto them that discovered the certaynty of his purpose to attempte somthinge, although they could not conjecture what it was he intended, till the very instant of his goinge into the citty, as since it did manifestly appeare; so far was that from knowledge the w<sup>ch</sup> had 4 monethes before ben disputed on, and so neere was hee to the toppe of his desyre, if folly and fortune had not hindred it. But by what I have since hearde I am of opinion that som of his owne freindes, observinge his couldnes, did cause this fayned message to bee sente unto him, therby to sharpen his disposition, as also to take all occaõ of doubte from others whome hee founde very unwillinge to hazarde any thinge upon the people's unstable humors; and in bothe these his purposes hee was nothinge deceaved, had that ben all to have ben thought upon. Notw<sup>th</sup>standinge ther was not so much credit given unto the people, but that the conclusion and last determinacõ was, that the next morninge, both my Lo. and the rest of the noble men and gentlemen should go on horsback into the Citty, and then if they had founde them backwarde on whome hee depended, so as hee might have reason to despaire in theyr aydes, they and hee together, beinge to the number of 200 horse, to have presently departed towards any other parte or partes of the kingdom hee had pleased. But if y<sup>a</sup> desire to know of mee how it came to passe that hee neglected this councell and went afterwarde on foote, I can say no more to satisfy you, but that such a passion is sudden feare as it maketh a man to runne, not whether councell directeth him, but whether theyr fortunes will leade them, not suffering them to consider of the perill, but makes them often times to refuse the safest meanes, and to neglect the thinges w<sup>ch</sup> should do theyr security; yet when I demaunded of him how chance hee would go before his horses came, hee answered, that hee would not stay for them; but I suspected hee forgat to give directions for them over nighte, as hee undertooke to doe. This I hope will bee sufficient to satisfy those of wisdom and understandinge that the councell and advise hee receaved from his freindes wrought not his ruine and downfall, but rather his not followinge it;

neither yet do I see how it can bee in reason so confidently beleevd that hee was betrayed by those hee reposed a trust in, except in this message promising ayde when ther was no suche thinge intended; wherfor I, as I expect salvation, am no wayes guilty, but did verely beleve it to bee an undoubted truthe, or otherwise I could never have ben drawne to consente to have depended upon them, although it may bee I should not have refused to runne the fortune of the rest as I did, but more unhappy than any other, that am condemned to be false in my affection and treacherously to have betrayed my friendes; but the unlikelyhood therof by this that I have sayde, I doubt not but doth playnely appeare to all indifferent mindes or sounde judgements.

I have declared unto you the truthe, and delivered y<sup>e</sup> the reasons as neere as I can, of all that passed, wherby I assure my selfe y<sup>e</sup> will rest fully satisfied of my honest meaninge and true love to my Lorde, howsoever it is otherwise understoode; and I do not a little mervayle what it should bee that hath ben the occasion so suddenly to settle and establishe this so false and so loathsom a conjecture of mee. I thinke they that have knowne mee can witnesse (howsoever I must confesse I have offended the Almighty God, and do deserve for my sinnes agaynst his divine Ma<sup>ty</sup> greater punishments then hetherunto I have endured,) yet I have not delighted my selfe in any loathsom or dishonest humor, nor so lived in the place where I have had comaunde that I can bee justly accused to have spent my time ever as a gluttonouse drunkerde, a riotouse person, or that I could ever subject my nature to accept of bribes, or consente to extortions or unlawfull actions, nor did I ever seeme to be negligent or careles of the truste reposed in mee. If any of these thinges (I say) could have ben objected or justely approved agaynst mee, havinge so many and so great enemyes as it is knowne I have alwayes had, ther is no doubt but I should have hearde of it longe agoe. As for my faythfull and unfayned love unto my Lorde of Essex, what better demonstracons or assurances can be giuen by any, or who is hee that in effecte did more to approve and assure the same then I have don, it being w<sup>th</sup> every circumstance wisely considered and truly knowne? For what is ther more to bee looked for of a freinde then to loose all the worlde doth esteeme deereste for his love sake? And so much have I not refused to make apparente. In a word, I protest no man doth live that did more honestly and faythfully love him then I did, nor none did adventure or advise more to have saved his life then my selfe, if it had taken effecte, nether was it don ether in respecte of rewarde or benefit I ever had by him, for estate it is well knowne it was never in his power to make mee; those places and authorities I had were meerely given mee by her Ma<sup>ty</sup>, much against his likinge, for at that time hee was an earnest suitor for Sr Cary Raynoldes to have had the forte of Plymouthe, and his graces of honor were bestowed on mee, as bothe before and since hee had don on diverse others nether better deserving nor worthyer descended then my selfe; and yet, bycause y<sup>e</sup> shall knowe I did not love him out of a childish affection, or a base disposition to serve my owne turne by his fortunes, I will in a worde give y<sup>e</sup> a faythfull and true accounte for doinge as I did in that behalfe. First, I noted him to bee in the opinion of her Ma<sup>ty</sup> of greatest esteeme, and best worthy of any subjecte. At that time houldinge my selfe bounde to reverence her affections and applaude her choyce, I was willinge to make shewe therof by the approbacon of the use of my service to bee at his disposition and commande; and yet I must confesse I did not this absolutely before I founde in him a willingenes and desyre to imbrace it, not yet nether untill both by my freindes



and my selfe I had made observation of his worthe and vertue, the w<sup>ch</sup> inwardly I perswaded myselfe had ben rooted in him, that outwardly made him so bewtifull, and so adorned in the opinion and the eyes of the worlde as hee was, for, I pray you, who was ther that seemed more industrious and carefull to norish vertue in all men then hee? Whether hee was divine or souldier, a wise coñonwealthes man, or a good lawyer, to all these he indeavoured to be an excellent benefector, and a faythfull protector. And who was ther that seemed more willingly to expose himselfe to all hazardes and travayle for his princes or contryes service then hee? Who ever more willingly spent his own estate, and all that by any means hee coulde get, for the publick good of his contry? The dayly experience I had therof, and the undoubted opinion of his good meaninge therin, was the cause that bounde mee so inseperably to him. But if y<sup>u</sup> say that in this hee aymed at an other ende then the love of vertue only; if so hee did hee hathe carryed his rewarde w<sup>th</sup> him; for my parte, in all my knowledge of him and private conference w<sup>th</sup> him, I can nether affirme nor lay any any suche thinge to his charge. Thus y<sup>u</sup> see I nether childishly nor basely exposed of my love to my Lorde at the first, and I have helde for an invincible maxime, that ther is no polesy to true honesty, nor love but where true vertue is, and therfor it is very unlike I should go so much agaynst my owne principall as to consent to betray my freinde, espetially for those partys who had never given mee a cause of love to do any such thinge for them, nor by reason of theyr place could I expecte the like assurance as from himselfe I had, for wee finde by coñon experience, as well as the old proverbe, that like will to like, and every man will keepe company w<sup>th</sup> such as he is himselfe; hee was of the same profession that I was, and of a free and noble spirit. But I must say no more, for hee is gon, and I am heere; I loved him alive, and cannot hate him being dead; hee had som imperfections—so have all men; hee had many vertues—so have fewe; and for those his vertues I loved him; and when time, w<sup>ch</sup> is the tryall of all trutthes, hath runne his course, it shall appeare that I am wronged in the opinion of this idle age. In the meane time, I p̃sume this that I have sayde is sufficiente to satisfy the wise and discreete; for the rest, whatever I can do is but labor lost, and therfor I purpose not to troble you nor myselfe at this time any farther.



XIX.—*On some early Notices relating to the Antiquities of St. Alban's,*  
by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. F.S.A.

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Read Nov. 22, 1849.

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SOME time ago the Society of Antiquaries did me the honour of listening to, and printing in its Transactions, a few remarks on the Antiquarian excavations made by the monks during the middle ages; on the destruction of many ancient monuments by this process; and on the purposes to which the articles thus brought to light were turned. Perhaps I may be permitted to recall the attention of the members of the Society to this subject, which will be hardly considered an uninteresting one, in order to shew how much may be learnt on the subject of local monuments of antiquity in this country from a careful perusal of the legendary literature of the church. So general was the custom of turning old popular legends into religious legends, and so universally were such popular legends attached to ancient sites and monuments, that we need not be surprised at the great importance which these monuments often assume in the histories of the lives and miracles of saints, and at the numerous and curious descriptions of these monuments which we find in the peculiar class of literature to which I allude.

I am convinced that a large portion of the reliques of saints shewn in the middle ages were taken from the barrows or graves of the early population of the countries in which they were shewn. It was well understood that those mounds were of a sepulchral character, and there were probably few of them which had not a legend attached. When the earlier Christian missionaries, and the later monks of Western Europe, wished to consecrate a site, their imagination easily converted the tenant of the lonely mound into a primitive saint—the tumulus was ransacked and the bones were found—and a monastery, or even a cathedral, was erected over the site which had been consecrated by the mystic rites of an earlier age. In some cases, without disturbing the bones of the dead, the legendary character of the spot had induced some still earlier hermit to make it his abode, before it was thus chosen for the site of a religious edifice. It appears from the early life of St. Guthlac that the monastery of Croyland was built on the site of what was probably a Roman barrow, and one which had already been broken up in search of treasure, which was often the

case with monuments of this description. The biographer of the saint tells us that "there was on the island (Croyland) a great mound raised upon the earth, which of yore men had dug and broken up in hopes of treasure. On the other side of the mound a place was dug, as it were a great water-cistern. Over this cistern the blessed man Guthlac built himself a hut."

I think I may venture to say, that with very little trouble, I might adduce from the monastic legends from fifty to a hundred distinct examples in which barrows were opened for the sake of finding the bones of saints. The notices to which I would call attention at present relate merely to the still interesting remains of the ancient city of Verulamium (near St. Alban's), and occurred to me in the course of a hasty perusal of the Chronicle of Roger of Wendover, a monk of that house.

It is highly probable, not only from the circumstances of the case, but from some modern discoveries, that the abbey church of St. Alban, erected on the spot where the bones of that saint were pretended to have been discovered, was built on the site of a Roman cemetery attached to the ancient city. The legendary account of the discovery of the remains of his spiritual teacher, St. Amphibalus, and his companions, is more definite and curious in its details.

This discovery took place in the year 1178. I must be permitted to give a little of the mere legendary part of the story. "There was," says the historian just mentioned, "a certain man who lived at his native town St. Alban's, and enjoyed a character free from reproach among his fellow townsmen. . . . As he lay in bed one night, about the hour of cock-crowing a man of tall and majestic mien, clad in white, and holding in his hand a beautiful wand, entered the room. The whole house was illuminated with his appearance, so that the chamber was as light as at noon-day. Approaching the bed, he asked, in a gentle voice, 'Robert, are you asleep?' Robert, trembling with fear and wonder, replied, 'Who art thou, lord?' 'I am,' he said 'the martyr St. Alban, and am come to tell you the Lord's will concerning my master, the clerk who taught me the faith of Christ; for, though his fame is so great among mankind, the place of his sepulture is still unknown, though it is the belief of the faithful that it will be revealed to future ages. Rise, therefore, with speed, and I will show you the spot where his precious remains are buried.' Robert then, rising from his bed, as it seemed, followed him, and they went together along the public street (*in strata publica*) towards the north, until they came to a plain which had lain for ages uncultivated near the high road (*regiam viam*, the Watling Street)." Matthew Paris adds to Wendover's narrative, that "on their way they conversed with one another, as is the custom between friends travelling together, at one time on the walls of the destroyed (*dirutæ*) city, at another on the decrease



of the river (the draining of that part of its course which had anciently formed the lake of Verulam), and of the common street (or road) adjacent to the city."\* Wendover, proceeding to describe the plain just alluded to, says, "Its surface was level, furnishing a good pasturage for cattle, and a resting place for weary travellers at a village called Redbourn, about three miles from St. Alban's. In this place were two mounds, called the *Hills of the Banners*, because there used to be assemblies of the faithful people held around them, when, according to an ancient custom, they yearly made a solemn procession to the church of St. Alban's."

This custom of holding assemblies or wakes about ancient barrows was common among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, and several examples might be cited. The narrative goes on to say that St. Alban took the man to one of these mounds, which he told him was the sepulchre of St. Amphibalus, and touching it with his finger, it appeared to open, and he saw a cist, which he was told contained the bones of the saint. Next day the man told his story abroad, and it was carried to the abbot, who set a watch upon the mound until it was opened, for so many people crowded to the spot that, during the time of the digging, it presented the appearance of a fair. At length the happy moment arrived—the monkish barrow-diggers discovered the bones, and, to use Wendover's words, "The holy martyr Amphibalus was lying between two of his companions, whilst the third was found lying crossways in a place by itself. They also found near the place six others of the martyrs, making, with St. Amphibalus himself, ten in all. Among other reliques of this champion of Christ were found two large knives, one in his skull and the other near his breast, confirming the account which was handed down from ancient times in the book of his martyrdom. For, according to that book, whilst the others perished by the sword, Amphibalus himself was first embowelled, then pierced with lances and knives, and finally stoned to death; for which cause, also, none of his bones were found entire, though in all the corpses of his companions not a bone was broken." The chronicler goes on to tell how the bones were carefully gathered up, and carried in solemn triumph to the abbey church.

The story of the vision was no doubt an invention of the monks to gain authority among the vulgar for their discovery; but the opening of the barrow is too vividly described to have been a fiction. The village of Redbourn is about four miles to the

\* A friend well acquainted with the ground suggests that, though their imaginary route may have passed at St. Michael's over the river into Verulamium, and then along the principal street northwards, or along a footpath by the side of the north-eastern wall, yet most probably, the course described, instead of crossing the river, continued on its north-eastern side along the road which, till the lake was drained, was the main road from St. Alban's through Redbourne.



north-west of St. Alban's, and modern observations might perhaps throw some further light on the narrative of the ancient monk. It appears to have been a Saxon burial-place; for any one who has been in the habit of opening Saxon barrows will at once recognise the position of the spear-head (which might be taken for a large knife), which is invariably found by, or sometimes under, the skull, and the knife (supposed to be the *seax*) which is found near or very little below the breast. We do not find Romans buried with their weapons.

The allusions to the ruins of the ancient city, and to the walls, which were then probably nearly if not quite perfect, are curious. I have no doubt that at Verulamium, as at other sites of Roman cities in England, much of the walls of the houses, as well as of the public buildings, remained standing, at least as late as the twelfth century, and perhaps still later. At Verulamium great destruction had already been committed by the monks in collecting building materials for their church, but no doubt the havoc which has been committed in the subsequent period has been still more extensive. Any one who has seen the modern houses and walls—almost whole villages—along the line of the Roman wall in the North, built out of its materials, will understand easily how the buildings of the Romans have disappeared throughout the island. I will point out an implied allusion which seems to me to shew that large remains of its public buildings were still visible on the site of Verulamium in the thirteenth century.

Roger of Wendover has inserted in his Chronicle several rather long purgatory legends. Among these, there is one which is found in no other writer, except Matthew Paris, who republished Wendover with additions, and which for that reason I am strongly inclined to believe was composed by a monk of St. Alban's, and preserved only in the abbey there. This vision is said to have happened to a countryman in a place named Tunstead, in the bishopric of London (which has been supposed to be Twinstead in Essex), in the year 1206, so that the legend must have been written subsequent to that period. It is a singular legend, and the visitor to purgatory wanders among walls and buildings until you are almost forced into the conviction that it was imagined by some one while he was strolling among the scattered ruins of an ancient city, or at least that he had a vivid impression of such a scene in his mind.

After having witnessed a great number of strange sights, the visitor to the shades was shown what are termed in the title of the chapter "The theatrical sports of the demons." "After this," the legend tells us, "Saint Domninus said to the devil (one of the demons who had fallen into conversation with them), 'We wish to go with you to see your sports.' The devil answered, 'If you wish to go with me, do not

bring this labourer with you, for he would on his return amongst his fellow mortals disclose our acts and secret kinds of punishment to the living, and would reclaim many from serving us.' The saint said to him, 'Make haste and go forward, I and St. Julian will follow you.' The demon therefore went on in advance, and the saints followed him, bringing the man with them by stealth. They then proceeded to a northern region, as if they were going up a mountain; and behold, after descending the mountain, there was a very large and dark-looking house, surrounded by old walls, and in it there were a great many lanes (in the Latin text *plateæ*—perhaps it should be *placeæ*, which in Mediæval Latin means simply *places*), as it were, filled all around with innumerable heated iron seats. These seats were constructed with iron hoops glowing white with heat, and with nails driven in them in every part, above and below, right and left, and in them there sat persons of different conditions and sexes; these were pierced by the glowing nails all over their bodies, and were bound on all sides with fiery hoops. There was such a number of those seats, and such a multitude of people sitting in them, that no tongue would be able to reckon them. *All around* these places were *black iron walls*, and by these walls were other seats, in which the devils sat *in a circle*, as if at a pleasant spectacle, grinning at each other over the tortures of the wretched beings, and recapitulating to them their former crimes. Near the entrance of this detestable scene, on the descent of the elevated ground, as we have said, there was *a wall five feet high*, from which could plainly be seen whatever was done in that place of punishment. Near this wall, then, the before-mentioned saints stood outside, looking on at what the wretched beings inside were enduring, and the man, remaining concealed between them, plainly saw all that was going on inside." The legend then goes on to describe these punishments; and it appears that the suffering souls were brought in their turn from the seats to act on the stage the different crimes they had committed on earth, and that such performance ended in inexpressible torments.

I think that there can be no doubt the writer of the above description had in his view the plan of a Roman theatre. There were no theatres in the middle ages, and I am acquainted with no Roman author, known to the monks, whose writings could have conveyed to them any distinct idea of one. Where then did a monk of St. Alban's, supposing one of those monks to have been the author of the legend, derive his notions of such a building? Recent discoveries on the site of Verulamium, I think, furnish the answer.

The members of our Society will recollect that, about two years ago, the remains of a theatre were discovered, and partially excavated, within the walls of the city of Verulamium. It was a Roman theatre of very great extent, and perhaps the only

one in Britain. A description of it, with a plan, was published last year by R. Grove Lowe, Esq. By comparing the description in the legend with the plan of this theatre, few and slight as the definite allusions in the former are, I cannot help thinking that it will appear evident that the writer of it had that building in his mind. The *plateæ*, lanes, or the *placeæ*, places—whichever be the correct reading—were no doubt the seats around the orchestra, which were probably at that time perfectly visible. The theatre at Verulamium, like the Roman theatres discovered on the Continent, had two parallel outer walls in a semicircle—or, in this case, somewhat more than a semicircle, which, from what we know of Roman theatres, inclosed a corridor, with elevated seats above. The corridor was probably standing in Wendover's time, and the seats above it were those by *the outer wall*, which in the legend were occupied by the demons who sat as spectators of the infernal "sports." The wall, *five feet high*, behind which the two saints and the countryman concealed themselves, was probably one of the walls near the stage and proscenium, and would naturally give them a full view of the area of the theatre.\* The monk of St. Alban's, probably, did not understand that part of the site covered with the ruins of the stage, and he supposed that the spectacles were exhibited in the central space devoted to the orchestra. It is very probable that, in the thirteenth century, the walls of the theatre, where most dilapidated, still stood as much as five feet above the ground.

I will merely add that the theatre at Verulamium is in many respects one of the most remarkable discoveries of this kind that have been made in our days, and it must be a subject of regret that the excavations were discontinued. The site might be rented for a year, and at no very great expense the whole remains of the theatre uncovered. I cannot help thinking that such an undertaking is worthy the attention of government.

In concluding these brief notes, I would again beg to press upon the attention of antiquaries the necessity of examining, in illustration of English local antiquities, not only the documents alluded to above—the religious legends, but a variety of others which have been too long neglected. Among these not the least curious are the descriptions of boundaries in the old Anglo-Saxon charters. These documents describe the limits by reference to visible objects, which were often ancient monu-

\* Or the three spectators may be supposed to have stood behind part of the inner wall of the corridor, near the front entrance—towards which the land sloped from the adjoining hill. At such spot there was discovered, I am informed, on the recent excavations, the only remaining fragment of wall which rose above the bonding course of tiles laid on the original level of the theatre.



ments, and the way in which these are referred to and the names given to them are sometimes in the highest degree interesting. The collection published by Mr. Kemble is a treasury of information of this kind. I will only refer to one charter of as early a date as the year 955, a grant of land in Berkshire, in which the description of limits makes us acquainted, among other objects, with the names then given to two of the barrows which are so numerous in the district to which it relates, Hilda's low and Hwittuc's low, and with that ancient monument now so celebrated by the popular name of Wayland Smith, on the legend of which I had the honour to communicate some remarks to the Society a few months ago. This early notice of it is valuable, as shewing to us that the legend in connection with this locality existed as early as the middle of the tenth century; and it shews us further, that the term which has been corrupted into the name of an individual was in reality that of the monument, for the Saxon name given to it in the document, Welandes smiððan, means simply *Weland's smithy*.

XX.—*An Account of the Officers in a Manor in Oxfordshire, with Remarks upon the Hide of Land. In a Letter to Captain W. H. SMYTH, R.N., K.S.F., Director of the Society of Antiquaries. By BENJAMIN WILLIAMS, Esq., F.S.A.*

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Read Jan. 17, 1850.

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MY DEAR SIR,

I WILL now endeavour to give you an account of the constitution of a Manor in Oxfordshire, which, as far as I can ascertain, is unique, and evidently bears the impress of antiquity.

You will probably trace, at first sight, a resemblance between the “four Grass-stewards and the Sixteens” of Cote, and the four *Primarii Forestarii* and the sixteen *Theynes* of the *Swein-mót* referred to in the *Charta de Foresta* of Henry I.; but possibly these customs may be remnants of the Anglo-Saxon *Mark-mót*, for traces of the hide of land “*cum pertinentibus*”—*i.e.* with a house and toft,<sup>a</sup> the rights of estovers, of common for cattle, and of a portion of separate pasture for hay—may be traced before the Conquest, and will be hereafter noticed; and a Saxon interpreter of Bede, quoted by Ducange (*voce* HIDA) remarks that a hide was “*Domus cum adjuncta agri ad colendum portione.*”<sup>b</sup> The 64 “yard-lands,” or 16 hides, of the manor, and the “Sixteens” as the annual representatives are called, with their 4 Grass-stewards (always chosen from the most influential of the yeomen), strongly resemble the inter-communal arrangements of the Anglo-Saxons, who frequently adopted, as Lappenberg remarks, some multiple of 8 in their cycles, &c. It is however but right to observe that the manor did not always consist of 64 yard-lands, for 9 yards were added, rather more than two centuries ago, from the neighbouring manor of Shifford, although they may notwithstanding have belonged to one community, for these lands were intermingled with the rest.

Several of the names of the lands are of Anglo-Saxon derivation: for example,—The Byttam—byht-hám, from byht a corner or bend.

<sup>a</sup> “*ne тупъ ne тортъ.*” A piece of land (*for a homestead*) adjacent to the house of a peasant. (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*.)

<sup>b</sup> The word *híwisc*, often used to denote a hide of land in the Saxon charters, as well as its Latin equivalents *cassata*, or *cassatum*, and *mansa*, proves that the hide was considered, as the names import, a provision for a married man (*cassatus*). So King Eádwig, when bestowing 13 *mansæ* at Fíf-hid (now Fyfield) upon one of his servants, anno 956, adds, “*cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus, campis, pascuis, pratis*” (*Cod. Dipl. Ævi Sax.* 1206), and 10 *cassatæ* at Cytringan “*cum campis, pascuis, pratis, silvis.*” (*Id.* 443.)

The Hucket—a hooked field, from *hoek* or *hó*.

The Stew-meads and the Steway—probably from *Scizpez*, a beaten path.

The Edy-Garston or Gaston,<sup>a</sup> Bleachingworth, the Stathe (a bank)<sup>b</sup>, Stadge, Bosengay, Mallenges, Sinderworth, Sinbury-hám, and the Woo.

Their terms Farundel or Farndel—a small portion of land, about a quarter of an acre, described in the London Encyclopædia as a corruption of farding-dele, and halfendele, a moiety, are semi-Saxon. The word *hayned* (*æyenede*),<sup>c</sup>—obtained, took in hand, from *agman*, to appropriate—was used by the Lord of the Manor in 1657, and the words “yeat” or “yat,” *gate*,<sup>d</sup> and “housen” are still used by the older inhabitants.

Within the parish of Bampton, Oxon, are several manors—the manors of Bampton, of Bampton-Deanery, of Aston and Cote, and of Shifford. The customs of all were probably identical at some former period; but as Bampton, with its dependencies, Weald and Lew,<sup>e</sup> was inclosed in 1812, and as the manor of Shifford is leased out in two farms only, the remarks that follow will apply to the manor of Aston and Cote only.

The manor of Aston and Cote, or Aston-Boges, as it is commonly called, from Hubert de Pogeys, to whom Henry III. granted a portion of the manor with numerous others in Oxon, Bucks, &c., passed by the female line into the possession of Robert Hungerford de Molyns, who was deprived of the manor by Edward IV. for his attachment to the house of Lancaster. A neighbouring knight, John Harcourt of Stanton, was also attainted at the same time, but they were both restored to their estates by Henry VII.<sup>f</sup> His descendant, George Earl of Huntingdon, Baron Hastings, Hungerford, Botreaux, and Molyns, sold the manor, in 1537, to Sir Rowland Hill, who resold it, in 1553, to Allan Horde, Esq. of London, merchant, the grandfather of Sir Thomas Horde, Knight, of Cote.<sup>g</sup> This manor, together with 8 yard-lands at Lew called Gollofer's, (from Wm. de Golofré, temp. Edw. III.) is held of the superior manor of Bampton by the annual tender of a gilt sword, or 1*s.* 6*d.* in money. It has consisted—for the last two centuries at least—of 64 yard-lands, or 16 hides of land, each hide containing 4 yards. Each yard-land consisted in the year 1577, when a terrier was taken which is still extant, and each now consists, of on an

<sup>a</sup> *Lif ceoplar gæpp-run hæbben gemænne . oppe oþer gebal-land . to tynanne, &c.* (Laws of Ine, Thorpe, i. 128.)

<sup>b</sup> See *Lajamon's Brut*, ed. Madden, i. 1.

<sup>c</sup> *Idem*, i. 174.

<sup>d</sup> *Idem*, i. 258.

<sup>e</sup> Lew, *hlæw*, Ang.-Sax., or *lhæw*, Celtic, a tumulus; so called, doubtless, from the barrow raised there over a chieftain, who probably fell at the battle between Cynegils, King of Wessex, and the ancient Britons in 614. (Sax. Chron.)

<sup>f</sup> Rot. Parl. vi. 273.

<sup>g</sup> The pedigree of the Horde family is given in Nichols's *Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. i.



average 27 acres<sup>a</sup> of arable land (intermixed in small portions of half an acre, or less, with the lands of others, over a common field), with a certain defined portion of "mowing ground," hay or pasture land, from  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to  $8\frac{1}{2}$  acres, and the right of common for 8 rother-beasts<sup>b</sup> or 4 horses, and 32 sheep, but formerly of 12 rother-beasts (or 6 horses) and 40 sheep.<sup>c</sup> To each yard-land a dwelling and a toft, or homestead,<sup>d</sup> were formerly attached, with probably the right of estovers,<sup>e</sup> that is, underwood for necessary fuel and for the repairs of fences, and shrubbed oaks for the repairs of posts and gates; <sup>f</sup> for a list of the copyholders to whom trees were given out is preserved in the old manorial writings. From a survey made in the year 1657 we are able to ascertain the proportion of the mowing ground and common meadows to the yard. They amount to 12 acres and a half, thus making the yard-land, in round numbers, 40 acres. Of this total, 128 acres, or 2 acres per yard, were appropriated to sheep.

From a "View and Survey" of the manor of Corton, four miles from Wootton Bassett, Wilts, made in the year 1548, it appears that to every yard-land in that manor belonged 24 acres of arable land, and the right of keeping 70 sheep on the commons, with all the owner's rother-beasts and horses, colts, mares, and swine, "saunce nombre," at all times and seasons of the year, without any pawnage, herbage, or other exactions paying for the same.<sup>g</sup>

In a MS. of Malmesbury Abbey, cited by Spelman from Agarde, the yard is also said to have been 24 acres, and four to the hide. It is probable, however, that in early times the proportion of arable land to the yard was considerably less, for Robert of Elford (now Yelford), a village adjoining Cote, died in the 2nd of Edward III. possessed of 52 acres of land and 6 acres of meadow in Aston and Cote,<sup>h</sup> which, on comparison of an inquest held in the 41st year of the same monarch's reign, appear to have belonged to 3 yard-lands, averaging  $17\frac{1}{3}$  acres of arable each; <sup>i</sup> and in the 36th year of Edward III. 3 "carucates" of land in Bampton consisted of

<sup>a</sup> The arable land to the yard varies from 24 acres to  $28\frac{1}{3}$  acres, or perhaps rather more, according to the quality and situation of the parcels. See *Gent. Mag.* Dec. 1849, p. 592.

<sup>b</sup> From *hƿgðep*. Ang.-Sax. an ox. At Glastonby in Kent this proportion of 1 horse to 2 cows obtained (Nelson, *Lex Manierorum*, App.)

<sup>c</sup> Reference to the common-meadow is made in the laws of Inc, to the common-pasture in the laws of Eádgá, and the "hide-mead" near Winchester is mentioned in Æthelstan's time. (*Thorpe's Ancient Laws*, and *Grafton's Chron.* i. 118.)

<sup>d</sup> From *estoffer*, Fr. to furnish.

<sup>e</sup> *Vicos locant . . . . Suam quisque domum spatio circumdat.* (Tacitus, *De Moribus Germ.*)

<sup>f</sup> These rights were attached to the manor of Corton. See Nichols's *Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. i.

<sup>g</sup> See ante.

<sup>h</sup> Inquisition anno 2 Edw. III. No. 37, Tower of London.

<sup>i</sup> Inquisition anno 41 Edw. III. No. 1.

196 acres of arable land, and 60 acres of separate meadow.<sup>a</sup> If the carucate were a hide of 4 yards, the amount of arable land to each yard would then be  $16\frac{1}{4}$  acres, with 5 acres of pasture, besides, of course, common rights.

The carucate was of Norman introduction, and it is represented, both by Ducange and Spelman, as identical with the hide. A carucate at Burcester, Oxon. temp. Edw. III. was 112 acres.<sup>b</sup> In the county of Connaught a carucate contained 120 acres, more or less. (Spelman, Gloss.) But the carucate appears for the most part to have consisted of land in demesne (*in dominio*); for, although an instance may occasionally, although rarely, be found of a carucate "*cum pertinentibus*," yet we never read of a hide of so many ox-teams, whilst the carucate frequently consisted of eight bovatae of arable land. The description, by Ducange and Spelman, of a hide and of a carucate as so much land as could be tilled by one plough in the year would appear to be erroneous, for, on reference to Domesday Book, it will be found that the number of hides was often about double the number of plough-tillages in a manor, or nearly so.

Domesday Book mentions the "*virgæ*" (at Oxford) "*quæ consuetudinariæ erant temp. reg. Edwardi.*" May not the smaller amount of arable to the yard in early times be accounted for by the circumstance that a considerable portion of the parish consisted formerly of unreclaimed wood-land, which, when cleared and brought under cultivation, was allotted to each yard for the owner's rights of common *per vicinage*, vert and essarts?<sup>c</sup> The hamlet of Welde or Weald, in Bampton parish, and a district of Cote called Clay-welde (now corrupted to Claywell), possibly derived their name from its forest;<sup>d</sup> a right of free-warren was granted by Edward

<sup>a</sup> Inquisition anno 36 Edw. III. No. 54 b. As this document puts us in possession of the value of land, and of the amount of charges upon it at that period, I annex an abstract of it. Thomas Talbot, clerk, died that year, jointly feoffed with 2 others, of the manor of Bampton, with divers houses, a barn, pigeon-house, water-mill, and 3 carucates of land containing together 196 acres of arable land, sown twice in three years, with 60 acres of separate meadow, in hand from Candlemas to Hayharvest, and afterwards held in common; moreover a separate pasture from the Annunciation to Michaelmas, worth 13*s.* 4*d.* The arable land was valued, when sown, at 4*d.* per acre, and the pasture at 1*s.* per acre. The dues received were certain cocks and hens, called here "*Church sbet*" (Church-scot, circ-sceat), value 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, payable at St. Martin's feast, 40*d.* called Candlemas-eve money, on the Purification, and 5*s.* "*herth-money*" at Pentecost. The rents and services of the tenants are valued at 26*l.* 2*s.* per annum, to be paid, at St. Thomas the Apostle 7*l.* 1*s.*, at the Annunciation 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, at St. John the Baptist 6*l.* 17*s.*, and at St. Michael's 11*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.* The value of the view of Frankpledge at Hockday and Michaelmas 100*s.* Placita et perquisita of the hundred, hall-mote, toll and market, 23*s.* 4*d.* The whole was held from the King in capite, by charter, at one knight's fee.

<sup>b</sup> Spelman, quoting Fleta, Glossar. Par. Antiq.

<sup>c</sup> Essarts or assarts, (*exarata*, equivalent to estovers,) "*acræ terræ projectæ de silvâ.*" (MS. 38, Soc. Antiq.) Every freeholder, however humble, was allowed these forest rights on his own land.

<sup>d</sup> It is possible, however, that weald is derived from "*weallan*," Ang.-Sax. *furere*, *bullire*, for the Domesday

III. in 1341 to Richard Talbot, Bundy the Forester held land at Bampton at the time of the Domesday Survey, and Ada the Parker is mentioned in a deed of 1329. This view of the case is strengthened by an article of the laws of King Ine, which enacts that if a "gesitheund-man" quitted his land, he was obliged to shew 6 hides cultivated out of 10, or one-and-a-half out of 3, and by the following article the tenant appears to have been allowed to hold his improved land without any increase of his rent.<sup>a</sup>

When the proportion of arable land to the hide or yard had increased, a dwelling appears to have become appurtenant to each yard, instead of to the hide as before the Conquest.<sup>b</sup> If the lord did not build the churl a dwelling, he might give up his land.<sup>c</sup>

In the 41st of Edward III. Edmund of Yelford held 3 messuages and 3 yard-lands, *cum pertinentibus*, at Aston and Lew, value 30s. per annum, from the King in capite, by one man's service in England and Wales, armed with bow and arrows, at his own costs, for 40 days in time of war; and 2 messuages and 1 yard of land at Lew, worth 3s. 4d. per annum, by carrying one of the King's hooded falcons at the King's pleasure.<sup>d</sup> The remaining freholders may have been originally cotsetlas who in time acquired their small freeholds, for we find these "coterelli" at Aston in the year 1329 paying a rent of 2s. each "pro omni servitio,"<sup>e</sup> and many of the present freeholders own as little as a half, and even as a quarter, of a yard-land. By the 12th of Charles II. cap. 24, all lands that were held of the King by knight's-service were turned into free and common socage.

Sir Thomas Horde's son and successor was accustomed to let the greater part of his lands, upon payment of a fine, on a lease of three lives,<sup>f</sup> for a small rental of one or two marks per yard, with the addition of a couple of capons (which appears to be a continuation of the church-sceat, paid, as we have already seen, to the landlord). The remainder of his lands he leased out either by copy of court-roll or at a rack-rent.

Book gives a considerable return "de pasnagio et salinis de Wic" at Bampton. The "Salinarii" were *wallers* or boilers of the salt. (Ellis. Introduction to Domesday.) In this case, however, there must have been extensive woods to supply the fuel for boiling the salt brine.

<sup>a</sup> Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 145. 8vo. ed.

<sup>b</sup> In the reign of Edward III. a rent of 2s. per annum was received by Peterborough Abbey "pro uno messuagio in Eston, Kent, et una virgata terræ ad illum messuagium pertinente." (MS. 38 Soc. Antiq. p. 127.)

<sup>c</sup> Thorpe, i. 147.

<sup>d</sup> Inquis. 41 Edw. III. 2d nrs. No. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Inquis. 2 Edw. III. No. 37. In the Liber Niger of Peterborough Abbey, published by the Camden Society, we find the husbandmen who paid a small rent for their yards of land, in lieu of the more laborious personal services, were called "semi-villani;" a distinct class, however, from the cotsetlas, in that document at least.

<sup>f</sup> By the custom of the manor the tenant's widow had "an estate" in the land—a remnant of feudal times. Consult Nichols' Topographer, vol. i. page 45.



The inhabitants of the manor thus consisted of—

The lord,  
 The freeholders, (for Mr. Horde possessed only 40 out of the 64 yard-lands,)  
 The copyholders,<sup>a</sup>  
 The lord's tenants, and  
 Cottagers with right of one or two cow-commons only.

This mixture of freehold and copyhold tenants prevailed at Mildenhall, Essex, at Corton, Wilts, and probably in many other manors, and is by no means unusual now. In the last-mentioned manor "bond-tenants" are mentioned as having rights of common. The Lord of the Manor of Aston and Cote held his court-baron and court of survey annually by his steward; but at this court the suitors were the judges, and the officers annually chosen there by the freeholders and copyholders, claimed and exercised a jurisdiction in all matters of internal arrangement independently of the lord or his steward, which prescriptive right was allowed by Sir Orlando Bridgman (afterwards Lord Chancellor), as will be seen on reference to the Supplement to the History of Bampton.

Certain customs, which will now be mentioned, appear to carry us back to the Swein-mót of the Forest Laws, if not to the ancient Mark-mót of Saxon times. To this court each hide of land sent its representative, annually chosen. "These 'Sixteens' as they are called," says Mr. Horde, "make orders, amerce suitors for non-appearance, set penalties, make presentments, choose officers, lot the commons, &c. and their orders, *if proclaimed from the Town Cross*, are binding on the inhabitants."

Amongst the officers annually chosen by the Sixteens are four Grass-stewards, whose duties are to see that the mounds and fences are in good repair, and to secure the meadows from the incursions of cattle; and also to provide, at their joint expense, four two-year-old bulls every season, to run on the common pasture. At the end of the season they sell them for their own benefit, and in the mean time they have the privilege of claiming a fee of 1s. 6d. for every cow that feeds on the common

<sup>a</sup> A specimen of a copy of the Court-Roll anno 1481 is annexed:—

"*Aston in Bampton.*—Ad curiam ibidem tentam die Veneris, sexto die Aprilis, anno regis Edwardi Quarti vicesimo primo, irrotulatur sic: 'Ad hanc curiam venit R. W. et cepit de domino unum messuagium, unum toftum et duas dimidias virgatas terræ cum suis pertinentibus, vocatas Doddes et Wilderes, habenda et tenenda sibi et suis secundum consuetudines manerii, per redditum, onera, consuetudines, et servitia inde prius debita et de jure consueta: Et dat domino de fine, tam pro licentia faciendi subtenementum, quam pro tali ingressu inde habendo, xx denarios, proviso semper quod dabit domino, nomine heriotti, quum acciderit, xx denarios: Et fecit fidelitatem, et admissus est inde tenens.'"

during the summer.<sup>a</sup> The right of pasture begins now on the 14th of May, and ends on the 14th of November. In 1660 the common was close only from St. David's Day to 3rd of May. The common meadow, or mowing ground, was formerly mown two years and fed one year, and this, in 36 Edward III. was close from Candlemas (2nd February) to Hay-harvest.<sup>b</sup> The present custom of allotting this mowing ground is as follows: each of the hides of land has its distinctive mark, as the one-thwart over —, the two-thwart over ==, the three-thwart over ===, the two at right (upright) and one at head, the three at right and one at head, the frying pan, the heron's foot, the bow, the cross, &c. When the grass is fit to cut the Grass-stewards summon the freeholders and tenants to a general meeting, and the following ceremony takes place. Four of the tenants come forward, each bearing his mark cut on a piece of wood, which, being thrown into a hat, are shaken up and drawn by a boy. The first drawn entitles its owner to have his portion of the common meadow in set one, the second drawn in set two, &c. and the process is repeated till all have received their allotments.<sup>c</sup> Perhaps we may fairly trace a resemblance in this custom to the Germanic *sors*.

On reference to the document which I transmit herewith (Supp. to the Hist. of

<sup>a</sup> At Whittlesey, in the Isle of Ely, a custom prevailed for the major part of the freeholders and copyholders to meet annually on the Sunday next after the Feast of St. Martin, and to choose two fit persons to superintend the public business, and to provide a common bull, for which they were to enjoy a pasture of four acres, called the bull's grass. (Nelson, *Lex Maneriorum*, fol. 1726, App. p. 28.)

<sup>b</sup> Inquis. p. 2 (1st mss.), No. 54 b. dorso.

<sup>c</sup> The following is the description of the mode of allotting the common meadows by Dr. Giles (History of Bampton):

The common meadow is laid out by boundary stones into 16 large divisions, technically called "layings-out." These always remain the same, and each laying-out, in like manner, is divided into four pieces called "sets," first set, second set, third and fourth set. Now, as the customs of Aston and Coat are based upon the principles of justice and equity between all the commoners, and the common meadow is not equally fertile for grass in every part, it becomes desirable to adopt some mode of giving all an equal chance of obtaining the best cuts for their cattle. To effect this recourse is had to the ballot, and the following mode is practised. From time immemorial there have been sixteen marks established in the village, each of which correspond with four yard-lands, and the whole sixteen consequently represent the 64 yard-lands into which the common is divided. A certain number of the tenants consequently have the same mark, which they always keep, so that every one of them knows his own. The use of these marks is to enable the tenants every year to draw lots for their portion of the meadow. When the grass is fit to cut, which will be at different times in different years according to the season, the grass-stewards and sixteens summon the tenants to a general meeting, and the following ceremony takes place. Four of the tenants come forward, each bearing his mark cut on a piece of wood, as, for example, the "frying pan," the "heron's foot," the "bow," the "two strokes to the right and one at head," etc. These four marks are thrown into a hat, and a boy, having shaken up the hat, again draws forth the marks. The first drawn entitles its owner to have his portion of the common-meadow

Bampton), it will be seen that there were formerly several other officers than the Grass-stewards, for Mr. Horde remarks, that "within the meads of Cote and Aston are several háms (or home closes) of meadow: viz.—

1. The Bull hám,
2. The Hayward's hám,
3. The Worden hám,
4. The Wonter's hám,
5. The Grass-steward's hám,
6. The Water-hayward's hám,
7. The Water-steward's hám,
8. The Homage hám,
9. The Smith's hám,
10. The Penny hám,
11. The Herd's hám,
12. The Brander's hám,
13. And (at p. 7) the Constable's hám;

which said háms are to the value of about 40*l.* per annum (anno 1657) and are disposed at the discretion of the Sixteens (I think), some to the officers whose name they bear, some to the public use of the town, as for the making of gates, bridges, &c. and some sold to make ale for the merry-meeting of the inhabitants."

For the better understanding of the nature of these offices it may not be unprofitable to refer for a moment to that valuable document the "*Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*." We there find the following persons employed on a lord's estate: the Theyne, the Geneat (*ceorl*, *villanus*), the Cotsetla, the Gebuhr<sup>a</sup>, the Bee-keeper<sup>b</sup>, the Gafol-swein<sup>c</sup>, the Swine-herd, the Esne (*servus*), the Handmaid, the Ploughman, the Sower, the Ox-herd, the Cow-herd, the Sheep-herd, the Goat-herd, the Cheese-maker, the Harvest-man (or barn-man), the Bydel, the Woodward, and the Hedgeward. Whether the Hedgeward (in low Lat. *Heiwardus*) and the Hayward are identical, I

in "set one," the second drawn in "set two," etc. and thus four of the tenants having obtained their allotments, four others come forwards, and the same process is repeated until all the tenants have received their allotments. The most singular feature of this very intricate system remains to be told. When the lots are all drawn, each man goes armed with his scythe and cuts out his mark on the piece of ground which belongs to him, and which in many cases lies in so narrow a strip that he has not width enough to take a full sweep with his scythe, but is obliged to hack down his grass in an inconvenient manner as he is best able.

<sup>a</sup> The Gebuhr, on taking to his yard-land, had 6 acres laid down for him, and 2 oxen, 1 cow, and 6 sheep were given to him. His rent was 10*d.* at Michaelmas and 23*d.* on Martinmas, a bushel of barley and 2 fowls at Easter, and a young sheep; but, as is expressly stated in the document, the customs varied at different places.

<sup>b</sup> The "Bee-furlong" is found in the Cote terrier.

<sup>c</sup> Who may be termed the Pork-butcher.



am unable to discover. The Hedgeward's portion was allotted near the pasture-land. The Hayward's hám at Cote (No. 2) is now given to the Grass-stewards, who pay the Hayward, who performs the duties of the Hedgeward. The Worden at Cote (No. 3) may possibly have been the Wood-ward, or perhaps, more probably, the Street-ward, for one such officer was to be supplied by every five hides temp. William the Norman. But as the clerk of the parish has now a hám—if this hám be, as the older inhabitants suppose, the same as that formerly allotted to the "Worden," it would appear to have been for the use of the Churchwardens. The Wonter's hám (No. 4) is for the wont or mole catcher. The Grass-steward probably had the care of those pieces of "mathes" and "leyes," or "wash-grounds"—highways interspersed amongst the arable lands—which were formerly called Stew-ways. They were two years mown and one year fed. The Water-hayward (No. 6), it is supposed, had the care of those meadows in the manor which are annually inundated by the Isis. The Water-steward probably regulated the fisheries, which were formerly of considerable importance. The Homagers (No. 8), as Mr. Horde informs us, are the greater number of the Sixteens, many of whom are copyholders. The Smith (No. 9) was formerly a public servant of importance, for when a "gesitheund-man" left his land he was at liberty to take with him his Reeve, his Smith, and his Child's Fosterer.<sup>a</sup> The "Vaber<sup>b</sup> furlong," in the terrier of the manor anno 1577, appears to point to the Smith. The Penny hám (No. 10) was, in wet seasons, sold for a penny, whence its name. The Cow-herd at Cote (No. 11) used to be allowed 16*d.* per annum from the occupier of each yard-land, and a groat from each cottager, and he still has his hám at the present day. The Brander's hám (No. 12). I am unable to obtain any information which can be relied upon as to the derivation of this name. The hám is now appropriated to the party who repairs the gates and bridges. Branding the person in the case of the "theowman" (*servus*), who was guilty the first time at the ordeal, was enacted by the laws of Ethelred and Canute: and branding a fugitive, bond or free, was a penalty fixed by the laws attributed to Henry I. But the Brander may have had the supervision of the assize of bread and ale at Bampton, which was granted to William de Valence by Henry III. in 1249, with right of erecting gallows (or rather furcæ), pillory, and tunbrill.<sup>c</sup> At Henley-in-Arden, Warwickshire, two officers called Ale-tasters were annually chosen, who had power and authority over the assize and weight of butter brought to market.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Laws of King Ine, Thorpe, i. 145.

<sup>b</sup> The farundel is spelt indifferently farundel or varundel in the old writings. The "farriery furlong" is still known.

<sup>c</sup> Charter Roll 33rd year Hen. III. mem. 5.

<sup>d</sup> There sold in quarters and half-quarters of a cwt. (Nelson, Lex Maner.)

But it is conjectured that the Brander (or Marker), at least of the seventeenth century, was the Tithingman. The Constable (No. 13) must not be confounded with the Bydel of the Reet. Sing. Pers. The Bydel is known to have exercised his office at Bampton from the 13th century to the present time, but he was rather the officer of the lord, whose distresses he served on the *averia* of defaulters. The constable was the servant of the community, and was formerly chosen by the inhabitants, at the superior court of Bampton.

It remains to refer to the system of agriculture followed in the Cote common field, where every man's land is distinct, although divided into numerous small plots. At present it is the four-year course—wheat, beans, oats, and fallow; but two centuries ago, the three-year course was followed, with fallow every third year.<sup>a</sup> It is important to remark that this circumstance affected the number of acres that were allotted to the hide in different shires, for in all inquests post mortem no value was returned for the portion of the hide that lay in fallow (*ad warectam*), and we may fairly presume the like rule obtained in public contributions to the King.<sup>b</sup> It should be stated that this is what is technically called Bean-land, and that the "taking" is now what it was in Saxon times—at bean-harvest.<sup>c</sup> It may not be inappropriate to add that the word *bean* is spelt in the terrier of 1577 exactly as it was before the Conquest—*ben*. As an inclosure is contemplated, it is probable that the next year will see the Sixteens reduced to ordinary freeholders or tenants.<sup>d</sup> The very name of the "Happy-Garston" is forgotten; the "merry-meetings" of the inhabitants have long been discontinued; the public breakfasts, on roast beef and ale, formerly given at the vicarage on St. Stephen's Day at the expense of the farmers of the tithe, as well as the distribution of bread and ale in Rogation week, exist only in the memory of the parishioners; and the herd's dull round of unintermitted labour is now rarely broken, unless it be by the allwise appointments of the Deity—the Sabbath or the grave.

Believe me, my dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

B. WILLIAMS.

Hillingdon, Middlesex,  
January 3rd, 1850.

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Horde's Accounts; and Inquis. Thomæ Talbot, cler. 36 Edw. III. p. 2, No. 54 b. At a still earlier period fallow every second year was not uncommon. (See also Ducange, Gloss. *voce* CARUCATA.)

<sup>b</sup> Thus Mr. Horde values "22 acres in the Holiwell field at 10s. per annm. 2 years sowed in 3, comes to pr. annm. but £8."

<sup>c</sup> Rectitud. Sing. Pers., last art.

<sup>d</sup> At the same time it is right to state that the present distribution of the lands over the common fields completely prevents any material improvement in the mode of cultivation, limits the employment of labour, and, of course, renders cross-ploughing impracticable.

XXI.—*Two Letters relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada. Communicated by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. Sec. in a Letter to Capt. W. H. SMYTH, Director.*

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Read Jan. 24, 1850.

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MY DEAR CAPTAIN SMYTH,

British Museum, Jan. 23, 1850.

I have copies of two very interesting documents to communicate to our Society, and I know not to whom they can be so appropriately addressed as to our Naval Director.

One is a Letter from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Admiral of England, dated on the 25th of July, 1588, announcing that Queen Elizabeth had given order that in the county of Kent a good number of her best and choicest shot of the Trained Bands should be forthwith sent to the sea-side, that upon notice given from him they might be brought to double man the particular ships which were under his own command, and that of Lord Henry Seymour.

The second is a still more curious Document than the first, and I may safely say unique. I think you will agree with me that it is not undeserving to be engraved in fac-simile in the *Archæologia*. (Plate X.)

It is the Minute of Council held by our great commanders at the moment they had completed the defeat of the Armada, declaring how far in prudence they could chase the dispersed enemy, consistently with the supplies they possessed for their support, not leaving out of view the necessity of protecting the shores of their country.

In accordance with the determination which this document records, Camden tells us, the Lord Admiral "himself chased the Spaniards till they were gone past Edinburgh Frith. For some there were that feared they would have recourse to the King of Scots."

These documents are preserved in the library bequeathed to the British Museum by the late Right Honourable Thomas Grenville.

Each is followed by short notices upon the characters of the several persons by whom they are subscribed. These I have also chosen should accompany them.

At the close of the comment upon the first document, however, there is a mistake. The Newspapers referred to are not genuine. They were in fact the first experiment



of the party, by whose learning and ingenuity the celebrated work intituled the "Athenian Letters" was afterwards produced.

I remain,

My dear Captain Smyth,

Very truly yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

1.

"After our right hartie commendacions to your Lordship. Forasmuch as the Queenes Maiestie is enformed that the enimie is verye well provyded of shott, and it maye be that your lordship is not at this present furnished with suche a number to answer them as is meete: Her highnes beinge verye carefull that your lordship should be supplied with all the provisions that maye be had, hathe geven order that in the countie of Kent a good number of her best and choycest shotte of the trayned bandes in the said countie should be forthwith sent to the sea-side, to the intent that upon anie notice to be geven from your lordship they maye be broughte unto yow to double man the shippes, that are both with your lordship and the Lord Henrie Seymer: which Her Maiestie hath thought good to signifie unto your lordship by this bearer Sir Thomas Gorge, knight, who is of purpose dispatched unto your lordship for that cause. And so, beseechinge Almightye God to sende your lordship a happie and honourable ende of this servyce, we bidd yow right hartelie ffarewell: from Richmond, the xxv<sup>th</sup> of Julie, 1588.

Yor Lordships assured lovinge frendes,

Chr. Hatton, Canc.

W. Burghley.

F. Knollys.

T. Heneage.

A. Poulet.

J. Wolley.

L. Admirall.

*Endorsed,*

To our very good Lorde,

The Lord Admirall of England."

Cecil Lord Burleigh was at this time Lord High Treasurer, and led the Queen's councils. A man possessed of unrivalled talent for business, of profound sagacity, secrecy, and resolution, of

winning manners, and extraordinary temper; but of a cold and unfeeling heart. His calmness and fortitude at this great crisis were worthy of himself, the nation, and their heroic sovereign; his example infused courage into all breasts, and made success inevitable.

Sir Christopher Hatton rose to the chancellorship, not by the law offices, but through the Privy Chamber. He died in 1591.

Sir Francis Knollys, K.G. married a sister of the first Lord Hunsdon, and niece of Queen Anne Boleyn. He became a Privy Councillor, and finally Treasurer of the Household. He sat as one of the Judges on Mary Queen of Scots.

Sir Amias Poulett was Ambassador to France in 1576, and was long the principal Custodian of poor Queen Mary.

Sir Thomas Heneage was Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Privy Councillor.

The epoch of the Spanish Armada is also the epoch of the periodical press—"the fourth estate of the realm." The earliest newspaper known to exist was the *English Mercurie*, which by authority "was imprinted at London by Her Highnesses printer, 1588." In the British Museum are several newspapers which were printed while the Spanish fleet was in the English Channel. It was a policy worthy of Burleigh to present, during a season of overwhelming anxiety, the danger of false reports, by the publication of real information. The earliest of these gazettes preserved, is dated only two days after the date of the first of our present documents. It contains the usual article of news, like the *London Gazette* of the present day; and among other notices, gives an extract of a letter from Madrid, which speaks of putting the Queen to death, and of the instruments of torture on board the Spanish fleet.

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2.

"1 August, 1588.

We, whose names are her under written, have determyned and agreeede in counsaile to folowe and pursue the Spanishe Fleete untill we have cleared oure owne coaste and broughte the Frithe weste of us. And then to retorne backe againe as well to revictuall oure ships (which stand in extreme searsitie) as alsoe to guard and defende oure owne coaste at home. With further protestatione, that if oure wants of victualles and munitione were suppliede, we wold pursue them to the furthest that they durste have gone.

C. Howard.

George Cumberland.

T. Howard.

Edmonde Sheffielde.

Fra. Drake.

Edw. Hoby.

John Hawkins.

Thomas Fenner."



Charles Howard, second Baron Howard of Effingham, and first Earl of Nottingham, was Lord High Admiral of England at this eventful time.

George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, the celebrated adventurer, whom Elizabeth used to call her champion—was one of the most intrepid spirits of an age full of enterprize and daring. He is characterized by Dr. Whitaker as an accomplished courtier, a skilful navigator, a most courageous commander, and an ardent patriot.

Lord Thomas Howard, second son of Thomas fourth Duke of Norfolk, distinguished himself in this reign as a Naval Commander. He was created Earl of Suffolk in 1603.

Edmonde Sheffield, third Lord Sheffield, took a prominent part in the defeat of the Armada; and was made a Knight of the Garter. He was created Earl of Mulgrave in 1626.

Sir Francis Drake, the first Englishman that compassed the globe, and one of the most daring men that ever fought; was appointed Vice-Admiral of the Fleet at this critical period, at the particular instance of Lord Effingham; and he acquitted himself in this important command with his usual valour and skill. This eminent man died in 1596.

Sir John Hawkins, a seaman scarcely less renowned than Drake, was Rear Admiral of this Fleet. He signalised himself by his nautical talents and personal intrepidity on many occasions. He was a freebooter and a slave-dealer, like most of the adventurers of that wild age, and he was buried in the element which was so long his home, in 1595.

To these Observations may be added that

Sir Edward Hoby's name no-where occurs in lists of officers of the fleet opposed to the Armada; although his portrait is found among those engraved round the margin of the "Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords," by Pine. His signature to this letter shows, at all events, that he must have held some important post.

Thomas Fenner was Captain of the Non Pariglia.



1. August. 1588

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88 & whose names are hereunder written shall  
determine and agree in reference to the same and  
pursue by the same fleet until we have  
cleared our own coast and brought the same  
west of us and then to return back again  
as well to victual our ships (not stand in extreme  
starvation) as also to guard and defend our own  
coast at some of the further stations for if  
we wante s<sup>h</sup>. victuals and munitions we  
supplied we will supply you from to go further  
for your moste good use.

Howard George Cumberland

John W. Edmund Staggall

John Drake

John W. Hobbs

John Hawkins

Thomas Remond

1. August.  
Determining by the way  
to reduce the strength  
of the fleet



XXII.—*On Richard Hakluyt and American Discoveries. In a Letter from J. PAYNE COLLIER, V.P. to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount MAHON, President.*

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Read Feb. 7, 1850.

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MY LORD,

Considering the important services rendered by Richard Hakluyt to the history and progress of navigation, very little has been done to illustrate his life. I am not aware of the existence of any separate memoir of him, and the accounts in our ordinary biographical collections are meagre and unsatisfactory. The notice of him by Anthony Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses* (II. 186, Edit. Bliss), is short, but, as usual with that industrious and able antiquary, correct as far as it goes; and such as have followed him have done little more than make a few trifling additions to the text he supplied. The most curious and authentic materials, regarding his early habits, studies, and employments, are furnished by Hakluyt himself, but extremely sparingly, and with a simplicity of narrative, and a modesty of spirit, that increases our admiration of the man, and inspires the fullest confidence in his statements. I allude particularly to the well-known dedications, and other prefatory matters, to his three volumes of “*English Voyages, Navigations, Traffics, and Discoveries*,” published between the years 1589 and 1600.

In a paper like the present I am not about to attempt any complete biographical account of Hakluyt, but merely to bring forward a few new particulars that have fallen in my way, which may hereafter be of use to any competent person in drawing up a systematic and well-digested life of a man, to whom all early navigators, and especially those of our own country, are under such weighty and universally admitted obligations.

I have also another purpose in view—that of directing especial attention to one of Hakluyt’s earliest productions, issued some years before the appearance of the first volume of his “*English Voyages*,” &c.; which has indeed been mentioned by some of his biographers, but which is of such extreme rarity, that one or two of them have not even noticed its title. As it seems to me that literary antiquities are certainly not less valuable, than such as more commonly occupy the attention of members of our Society, I shall run the risk of entering into some little detail upon the subject; and I will follow my account of the volume in question by the insertion



of two original and highly important letters from Hakluyt to his chief and early patron, which have not only never been printed, but which have hitherto entirely escaped observation.

The map exhibited on the table forms, in some respects, the most interesting portion of the work to which I have alluded ; and when I add that only one other copy of it has been discovered, members will be able to judge of its great rarity, as well as in some degree of its high pecuniary value. Its importance, as a record of the state of geographical knowledge and science at the time the map was engraved, must depend upon other circumstances. It will be observed, that it is a wood-cut, somewhat coarsely executed, of a great part of the then known world, north of the tropic of Cancer, and that it includes portions both of land and water, then only conjecturally laid down, which subsequent discoveries in many instances falsified. On this very account it possesses additional claims to notice, since it shews decisively some of the singular speculations indulged by our ancestors, in the year 1582, respecting the seas and continents of North America.

The only other copy of this map known to be in existence was in the library of the late Mr. Grenville, now removed to the British Museum, where, by the favour of the keeper of the printed books, I was recently permitted to inspect it, and to compare it with the exemplar upon the table. They are identical, having been struck from the same block. It forms one of two illustrations of the rare tract by Hakluyt; and the late Mr. Grenville thought his copy of that work unique, because it contained this map: another perfect copy has, however, come to light, from which the map before the Society has been extracted for exhibition this evening; and I apprehend that a third copy of the volume is preserved in the cabinet of a chary lover of old books, who was glad to obtain it at a high price, although it has not either of the maps that properly belong to it, and are mentioned in the title-page. I quote that title-page at length on account of the rarity of the volume (which Anthony Wood, among others, never saw), and because it expressly mentions the "two maps," as a component part of the original publication. It runs thus:—

"Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America, and the Ilands adjacent vnto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterward by the Frenchmen and Britons: And certaine notes of aduertisements for obseruations, necessarie for such as shall heereafter make the like attempt, With two mappes annexed heereunto, for the plainer vnderstanding of the whole matter.—Imprinted at London for Thomas Woodcocke, dwelling in paules Church-yard, at the signe of the blacke beare. 1582." 4to.

Thus we see that both the maps which ought to be contained in the work are promised on the title-page, the first map being, as is stated on the face of it, a fac-simile of one that had been sent from Spain to England by "maister Robert Thorne, marchaunt," as early as the year 1527; and the second, the map on the table, dedicated by Michael Lok, *civis Londinensis*, to Sir (then only Mr.) Philip Sidney, with the date of 1582. Of Michael Lok, and of his losses and sufferings in the cause of American discovery, I have a good deal to say; but I must reserve it for a future occasion: at present I shall confine myself to Richard Hakluyt and to his work under consideration. I may here mention that the Museum copy of it is most strangely and carelessly bound; for the prefatory matter, instead of being followed by the first sheet of the book, marked A, is followed by the second sheet, marked B; while sheet A is postponed to the end, and actually placed after the imprint. The sooner this mistake is remedied the better, for at present, to a cursory observer, the work seems imperfect.

I shall pass over two lists of "late writers of geography," and of "certain late travellers," &c. in order to come at once to the dedication and what may be justly called its remarkable contents. It is only signed with the modest initials of the indefatigable writer, and is addressed, with great simplicity, "To the right worshipfull and most vertuous Gentleman, master Phillip Sydney Esquire." It fills seven closely-printed pages; but I am only about to make a few brief extracts from it, which relate personally to Hakluyt, to Sir Francis Drake (who had returned from his voyage round the world two years before), to Sir Stephen Burrough, or Burroughs, and to Michael Lok.

Hakluyt begins by blaming the slackness of the English, in not making themselves masters of at least such parts of America as were not in the hands of the Spaniards and Portuguese: observing, "Surely if there were in us that desire to advaunce the honour of our countrie, which ought to bee in every good man, wee woulde not all this while have foreslowne the possessing of those landes, which of equitie and right appertaine unto us, as by the discourses that followe shall appeare most plainely."—Thence he goes on to shew how our prisons might be emptied, and rogues and vagabonds cleared from the streets, by exporting them to new and promising colonies. He especially points to what he calls "those blessed countries from the point of Florida, northwards," and enforces his recommendation in this respect by the opinions of Frobisher, Drake, Burrough, and others, adverting, as he proceeds, to the lectureship established in the Contractation House at Seville, for the advancement of the art of navigation. He earnestly urges that a similar course should be pursued in London, near Ratcliff, adding,—“For whiche cause I

have dealt with the right worshipfull Sir Frances Drake, that, seeing God hath blessed him so wonderfully, he would do this honour to him selfe, and benefite to his countrey, to be at the cost to erecte such a lecture: whereunto in most bountiful maner, at the very first, he answered, that he liked so well of the motion that he would give twentie poundes by the yeere standing, and twentie poundes more before hand, to a learned man to furnish him with instruments and maps, that would take this thing upon him."

We are to bear in mind, that such was the comparative scarcity of money in 1582, when Hakluyt wrote, that £20, then, was at least equal to £100 now; so that Drake was ready to give out of his own pocket as much as £100 a-year to pay the salary of a lecturer, and £100 down for the purchase of maps and instruments for his use. At the express instance of our great first circum-navigator, Hakluyt pointed out to him a man competent to the office, but who declined the duties of it, unless £40 a-year (equal to £200 a-year of our present money) could be obtained to remunerate his services, and the expectations of the individual, to whom the proposal was made, do not seem to have been unreasonable.—"Nowe (continues Hakluyt) if God shoulde put it into the head of any noble man to contribute other twentie pounce, to make this lecture a competent living for a learned man, the whole realme, no doubt, might reape no small benefite thereby." Nevertheless we do not find that any such lectureship was established in London.

Hakluyt afterwards proceeds in this dedication to detail the particular contents of his book, into which it would, perhaps, be tedious now to enter; but I must not omit the passage in which he adverts to the curious map upon the table—"The mappe (he observes) is master Michael Locke's, a man, for his knowledge in divers languages, and especially in cosmographie, able to doe his countrey good, and worthie, in my judgment, for the manifold good partes in him, of good reputation and better fortune."—It is lamentable to reflect, after such testimony in Lok's favour, that late in life he was reduced to great poverty, and that the person whom take to have been his son was obliged to procure a maintenance by the beggarly pursuit of poetry. If Sidney and Walsingham had survived, a happier lot might have awaited both.

If I thought it expedient on the present occasion to give an account of the materials of which the volume is composed, I would have done so in the words of the author, to which I have already alluded; but, although they establish the great industry and learning of Hakluyt on a subject then engaging so much attention, and although they shew the eagerness of his patriotism, that England should not be behind other nations in naval enterprise or territorial acquisitions, it would be out



of place here to enter into an explanation, or discussion, of what had been done towards American discovery previous to the year 1582. Suffice it to say, that Hakluyt has collected and printed all the then existing evidence, and that he patriotically labours to prove the prior claim of his own country to the merits and advantages of discovery.

Closing, therefore, Hakluyt's book of 1582, in the dedication of which he so strongly contends for the fitness of establishing a lectureship on navigation, I come to a document in his own hand-writing, dated two years afterwards, in which, among other things, he enforces the same point, and backs himself by the example of Peter Ramus, who, narrow as his circumstances were, left by will 500 livres for the endowing of a lectureship on mathematics. It is an original letter addressed by Hakluyt, then in Paris with the English ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford, to Sir Francis Walsingham, and it is endorsed by that statesman's private secretary in these words.—“Primo Aprilis, 1584. From Mr. Hakluite, the Preacher, at Paris.” The contents will be perfectly intelligible from the perspicuity of the style of the writer; but I may mention, that the “Mr. Carlile” whose name is introduced was no other than Christopher Carlisle, who became Lieutenant General (as the post was then termed) to Sir Francis Drake in the new voyage he commenced on the 14th September, 1585. Of course the “worthy and virtuous son-in-law” of Walsingham, also mentioned, was Sir Philip Sydney, who had married Walsingham's daughter in 1583. The importance and interest of the letter will be perceived at once; and it is as follows :—

“RIGHT HONORABLE,

“The famouse disputations in al partes of the mathematikes, which at this present are held in Paris, for the gayning of the lecture which was erected by the worthy scholer Petrus Ramus, to the great increase of those excellent sciences, put me in mynd to sollicite your honour agayne and agayne for the erection of that lecture of the arte of navigation, whereof I have had some speach with your honour, Sir Francis Drake, and Alderman Barnes and other. And that you might meet with al inconveniences, which might frustrate the expected profit, which is hoped for by the erection of the same, I send your honour here the testament of Petrus Ramus, newly put out agayne in printe, and sent unto mee by monsur Bergeren, Ramus his executor; whereby you may see, first the exceeding zeale that man had to benefit his countrey, in bestowing 500 livers, which (as your honour knoweth) is fiftie pound sterling, upon establishing of that lecture, bequeathing not halfe so much to al the kindred and friends he had. Secondly, you may note, that he, being one of the most famouse clerkes of Europe, thought those

sciences, next after divinitie, to be most necessarie for the common welth, in that he erected a newe lecture of the same, whereas there was one before erected, and endued with fiftie pound stipend, by the kinges of France. Thirdly, that most provident order, which the good man by his will hath taken, is most requisite to be put in execution in England; which is, that everie three yeares there shalbe publicke disputation, signified to al men by publicke writing, wherein it shalbe free for any man, for three monethes space, to dispute agaynst the reader for the tyme being; who, yf he be found negligent, or yf any one of the competitours be found more worthy by the opinion of certayne indifferent men of lerninge, chosen out of the purpose to be judges, that then the unworthie shall give place to the more sufficient; who, so being placed, is bound in three yeares space to read through the course of the mathematickes.

“ Yf, by your honour’s instigation, her Majestie might be enduced to erecte such a lecture in Oxford, and the like for the arte of navigation might by some other meanes be established at London, allowing to each of them fiftie poundes yearly, with the same conditions, in my simple judgment it would be the best hundred poundes bestowed these five hundred yeares in England. For it is not unknowne to your wisdom, how necessarie for service of warres arithmeticke and geometrie are, and for our new discoveries and longe voyages by sea, the arte of navigation is, which is compounded of many partes of the aforesayd sciences.

“ Understandinge heartofore of your honour’s great abundance of busines, and your dangerouse sicknes, I thought it not meet to trouble your honour with such thinges as I had carefully sought out here in France, concerning the furtherance of the western discoveries, but chose rather to imparte the same with Mr. Carlile, which thing also I did. But, being lately advertised of your recovery (for which I humblye thanke almightie God), I was bold to signifie unto your honour my dealing with Horatio Palavicini, to become an adventurer in those western voyages, and, among other talke, alleadged your good disposition to the same; which he hearing of, replied very cheerfully, that yf he were moved thereto by the least word from your honour, he would put in his hundred pound adventure or more. If Mr. Carlile be gone, yet it might come in good tyme to serve Mr. Frobisher’s turne, yf your wisdom shall like well of yt, seeing he setteth not forth, as I understand, until the beginning of May.

“ I understand that the papistes give out secretly in the towne, that there shall shortly come forth a confutation of the defence of the execution of justice in England, which was set forth in English and French in London. When yt cometh forth, I trust to have it with the first.

“There is good hope that the minister, and those that were taken lately with him in Paris, by the abbot of St. Geneveva, shall very shortly be set at libertie ; for the King secretly seemeth to favour them ; and they have very discreetly answered for themselves, that they were not at any communion or sermon, but that they met together to consult whether to go out of Paris to some place lawful by the edict. A frind of myne told mee he heard a frier inveigh very exceeding bitterly agaynst them in a sermon before a great congregation of people.

“Wee have heard by divers letters from Geneva that, besides the earthquake, which was there about the end of Februarie, which untyled many houses, and overthrewe many chymneis in the towne, there is besides a whole village, in the contrey of Vallaye, swallowed up, being foure dayes journey of Geneva.

“Those that favour the Spanish here in the towne have spred al abroad, these two or three dayes, that Monsur is dead, which is nothing so.

“Thus leving other matters and advertisementes of importance to them unto whom they apperteyne, with remembraunce of the continuance of my humble dutie to your honour, and your worthy and vertuose sonne in lawe, I leve you to the merciful protection of the Almightye. Paris, the first of April, 1584.

“Don Antonio, his captaynes, and his fleet, are not yet departed from Paris, but look every day to depart.

“Your honour’s most humble

“RICHARD HAKLUYT.”

The notion of Don Antonio, his captains, and his fleet, departing from Paris brings to mind the charge against Shakespeare, that in his *Winter’s Tale* he represented Bohemia as a maritime country ; but Hakluyt’s meaning is quite as intelligible as Shakespeare’s reason for disregarding mere geographical accuracy in his popular drama. “The Defence of the Execution of Justice in England,” spoken of above among the miscellaneous matters, was of course Lord Burghley’s tract published in 1583, to vindicate the punishment of Campion and other Jesuits.

Before I conelude, I have to introduce another letter from Hakluyt to Walsingham, which, though somewhat shorter, is personally even more interesting than the preceding. It bears date on the 7th January, 1584, which must, I apprehend, be taken as 7th January, 1585, the year not then being usually terminated, at least so far as epistolary correspondence is concerned, until 25th March. Such is, however, not invariably the case, and for my present purpose (that of bringing the document for the first time from its obscurity), it is not of much consequence whether it was



written eight months before or after the letter already inserted. The main subject of it is the same, but pressing still more strongly on the Queen's Minister the fitness of encouraging discoveries and settlements, by reason of the profitable nature of the commodities to be obtained from North America. The most valuable portion of the letter, as regards Hakluyt himself, is that paragraph wherein he expresses his own willingness, not merely pecuniarily to join in the adventure, but personally to share in its dangers and sufferings, by relinquishing his office of preacher in the family of Sir Edward Stafford, and accompanying the fleet, which was then expected very shortly to leave the shores of England for the other side of the Atlantic. This is a new point in the biography of Hakluyt, although we nowhere learn that his wishes were carried into execution. The other points of the subsequent letter will speak for themselves.

“RIGHT HONOURABLE,

“I understand from your servant Curtis your good acceptation of my hastie letter, your special favour and good will towards mee, as also your expectation of my diligent inquirie of such thinges as may yeld any light unto our westernre discoverie. For the two former I yeld you most humble thankes; and for the later, I nether have nor will omitte any possible diligence, expecting intelligences thereof from Roan, Diepe, and St. Malo very shortly.

“In Paris I have seen in one man's house, called Perosse, the value of five thousand crownes worth of furies, as sables, bevers, otters, and other sortes, which he bought in August laste of the men of St. Malo; and the yeare before, he told mee he bestowed four thousand crownes with them in the like commoditie. He gave me further to understand that he saw great quantitie of buffe hides, which they brought home, and sent into the lowe countreys to sell. All which commodities, with diverse other of noe lesse value, are brought out of the most northerly partes of those countreys, whereunto our voyage of inhabiting is intended.

“And now, because I knowe that this present enterprise is like soone to waxe colde, and fall to the ground, unlesse in this second voyage all diligence in searching everie hope of gayne be used; and calling to mynd that your honor made a motion heartfore unto me, whether I cold be contented to goe myselfe in the action, these are to put your honor out of doubte, that for myne owne parte, I am most willing to goe now in the same this present setting forth, and in the service of God and my countrey to employ al my simple observations, readingses, and conference whatsoever. For obtaining leave of my L. Ambassador heere to

departe, I doubt not but to find meanes of myselfe, seeing he may have inough to supply my roome.

“For leave of my colledg, and entertaynment in this voyage, I will wholly referre yt unto your honor, who wish me so well as you will not see my poore estate impared. Because the tyme is exceeding shorte, I wold desire your honor’s present aunswere; uppon sight whereof, with winges of Pegasus, I wold fly in England.

“I have talked twise with Don Antonio of Portugal, and with five or sixe of his best captaynes and pilots, one of whom was born in Easte India. They al wish al prosperitie to Her Majestie and yourselfe, and say that, if the Queene of England wold joyne with their master, whose strength by sea they commend unto the skyes, they know how the King of Spayne, our mortal enemy, might easily be met withal, and she much enriched. The number of Portingalls which hange uppon the poore King are aboute an hundred or sixe score: diverse of them are lately come out of the Easte India, overlande by Tripoly in Siria. They have a voyage in hand, with five or sixe sayle of ships, which are in preparing at Newe Haven for the coste of Guinea, and the castle of Mina, wherein most parte of the Portingalls aforesayd are to be employed, being joyned in company with the French. They set forward, as I heare, within this moneth.

“One Sinior Andreas, borne in Savoy, is nowe, I heare, in Paris, which hath bin lately in the Island of Japan, with whom, by meanes of Doctor Pena, I shall have conference within a day or two. Diverse other intelligences, tending toward the furtherance of our western planting and discoverie, I looke for from sondry places very shortly. In the meane season, with remembrance of my humble dutie to your honor, and to your worthy and honorable sonne-in-lawe, I cease for the present, and beseech the Almightye to hold you bothe in his safe garde.

“It was told me by Perosse, of whom I spake before, and by Andrew Thevet, the Kinges cosmographer, that Duke Joyeuze, Admiral of Francee, and the Cardinal of Burbon and their frindes, have had a meaning to send out certayne ships to inhabite some place of the north part of America, and to carry thither many friers and other religiouse persons; but I thinke they be not in haste to doe yt. Paris, from my Lord Ambassadour’s house, the vijth of Januarie, 1584.

“Your honor’s most humble to command,

“RICHARD HAKLUYT, Preacher.”

It may strike some persons as remarkable, considering Hakluyt’s eagerness to take a personal share in the hazard and distinction of these enterprises, recollecting

too that he was ready, at an instant's warning, "to fly on the wings of Pegasus" to join the expedition which was in a forward state of preparation in January, 1584-5, that he did not in some way carry his ardent wishes into effect. Had he done so at any time, it appears scarcely possible that we should not have heard of so important an incident in his life, however insufficient and scanty the general materials for his biography. To those materials something has now been added ; and they could hardly have been brought forward at a time when they would attract more attention, recollecting the deep interest at this moment felt as to the fate and fortunes of some of those hardy adventurers who, within the last few years, have risked, and perhaps sacrificed, their lives in promoting the extension of our north-western discoveries.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient and faithful Servant,

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Mahon,  
President of the Society of Antiquaries.



XXIII.—*Continuation of the History and Progress of the Art of Watchmaking. In a Second Letter from OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., F.S.A. to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. Secretary.*

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Read 28th Feb. and 14th March, 1850.

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MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

9, Pall Mall, Feb. 27th, 1850.

MY former letter to you on "The History and Progress of the Art of Watchmaking," and the exhibition of ancient Watches which accompanied it, having created some interest on the subject, I am induced to exhibit on the table of our Society some additions which I have since then made to my Collection, and which I will accompany with some observations on them, and such further particulars respecting the history of watches in general as I have been able to collect.

I stated in my former letter that the first watches which were made had no fusee to equalise the power of the main spring, that improvement being a subsequent invention, but that there was some contrivance employed for producing that effect. This is mentioned in many works on watchmaking, but is nowhere accurately described, and the writers do not seem clearly to have known what it was. Nor do antiquarian collectors of ancient watches appear to have paid much attention to the internal construction of the examples which they have brought together. Berthoud, however, in his "*Histoire de la Mesure du Temps*," vol. i. p. 77, does give some description of it, and, speaking of the main spring, says, "It was soon perceived that, the action of the spring being much greater at the height of its tension than at the end, great variations in the watch resulted. This was remedied by a mechanism called *stackfreed*, that is, a kind of curve, by means of which the great spring of the barrel acted on a straight spring, which opposed itself to its action, and when this spring was nearly down acted more feebly. This ingenious contrivance preceded the invention of the fusee." And he adds, in a note, "This word (*stackfreed*) which is German, might serve to prove that this invention, and perhaps also that of watches, is due to German artists; and it is known from other sources that the most general opinion is that the invention of the ancient clocks originated with them." The word *stackfreed* is, however, not German, but may probably be some German word ending in *feder*, a spring, misspelt. I have in vain searched in

German dictionaries, lexicons, and works on horology for the original word; but, the contrivance having been early disused, its name being a technical word, probably soon became obsolete and forgotten. It is remarkable that no writer makes any mention of the naked simplicity of the early main spring, all seeming to take it for granted, because they have usually seen it covered, that it was always clothed in a barrel. One of the watches which was on the table at my former exhibition, displayed the main spring in its earliest and simplest form, but the other part was wanting. I have, however, now the pleasure of laying on the table a watch which exhibits the main spring in this condition, together with the contrivance for controlling its action, quite complete.

This watch, No. 1 of the series, is of an oval form,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, 2 inches broad, and  $1\frac{1}{8}$  thick. It is what in English phraseology is termed a hunting watch, that is, one having a cover to protect the face, but with this difference, that the cover is pierced with open work to allow the hour to be seen. It is a pocket clock or clock-watch, striking the hours of itself. The back of the case, which is of metal gilt, is richly ornamented with tooled or sculptured open work of an Arabesque character, whilst the covering to the face has somewhat the character of a Gothic wheel window, and the sides are also ornamented with bands of deeply cut zigzag and other similar patterns. Within the back is screwed a very small circular bell, on which it strikes. I may here say that all these very early watches which I have seen have bells, either for striking the hours or for alarums, and the cases are all pierced to let out the sound; they moreover have all open-work metal covers to the faces. In this instance the ingenious and neatly made fastenings to these covers deserve attention, especially the almost concealed hook for security, to prevent their opening in the pocket. The dial is of silver, having a star in the centre, inlaid with transparent yellow enamel. The hour figures are in Roman numerals from I. to XII. having an inner circle of Arabic figures from 13 to 24. These two circles are separated by a circle of alternate compartments of silver and blue enamel, dividing each hour into four parts, whilst, outside all, are the studs for feeling the hour in the dark.

The plates of the movement of this watch are of brass, but the wheels are of steel. The main spring is without any barrel or other cover, and its outer extremity, fixed to a strong pin attached to the plate, is clearly visible. The contrivance for equalising the force of the expanding main spring, and so producing a continuous regular motion, is here in operation. On the arbor to which the inner extremity of the mainspring is attached is a pinion of eight leaves, which turns a wheel of 24 teeth. This wheel has the space between two of its teeth not cut out, so that when,

in winding up the spring, the tooth of the pinion comes to this part it can go no further, and in like manner when, in uncoiling itself, the spring brings the tooth of the pinion to this spot it is again stopped ; thus this wheel makes only one revolution during the going of the watch, whilst the main spring uncoils three turns. On this toothed wheel is fixed an excentric wheel of peculiar form, termed by watchmakers a snail, having a groove on its circumference. From the shape of this wheel the distance from its centre to its circumference is greater at one part than at any other. On the pillar-plate of the watch is fixed a strong curved spring, with a roller at the end, pressing strongly in the groove on the circumference of the snail, which is so placed that this spring shall press upon it at the point of its longest radius when the main spring is most coiled up, thus by its pressure retarding the motion. As this snail makes its revolution, and the power of the main spring becomes less strong, this retarding spring presses with diminished force ; till at length, when the watch is nearly down, and the force of the main spring considerably weakened, from a peculiar curvature of the snail, the pressure of this spring, having diminished gradually, changes from a retarding to an accelerating action ; thus in a great degree equalising the force of the moving power, by retarding it whilst it is strong, and accelerating it by a union of its own force when it is weak. This contrivance, though very ingenious, gave way to the more perfect invention of the fusee, which we know, from our own Bohemian clock, was employed in 1525. I consider this watch to have been made in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. On the plate of the watch are engraved the letters A. R., but they have not enabled me to ascertain the maker, or the place where it was made.

The 2nd watch of the series exhibited is of an octagonal form,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch thick. It is of the same period as that just described. The works are, I regret to say, not those which originally belonged to it, having been substituted for them about the end of the seventeenth century, soon after the invention of the pendulum spring, when foreign watchmakers, especially the French, used such remarkably large balance-wheels. There is, however, a peculiarity belonging to these works, viz. that the watch is wound up by the square on which the hand is placed. It was originally a clock watch with an alarum. The case is a good and handsome example of the watches and style of ornament of that period, and the silver dial is original. It has two circles of figures, the outer up to XII. in Roman, the inner from 13 to 24 in Arabic numerals of quaint form, as is always the case in these early watches ; both are filled with a black enamel, and round the outer circle are the studs for feeling the hour. Between the hours 8 and 9 in the silver dial is a hole, the use of which was by the



insertion of a point of some kind (and the early keys very frequently had them at the extremity) to raise the detent, and so make the watch strike for the purpose of setting it. In the centre of the dial was the plate for setting the alarum; but that, together with the original hand and works, has been removed. There was also once an open-work covering to the face, as shewn by the remains of the hinge. Round the case is a very pretty pierced ornament, like a miniature balustrade. This watch was, for greater security when carried about, inclosed in the octagon metal box which now lies beside it.

No. 3. This specimen, though of the same internal construction as a watch, from its bulk, as well as from being mounted on a foot, and never having had any covering to protect the face, is more properly a table clock, though when removed from the foot it has all the characters of a large watch. It is an extremely beautiful and curious specimen; and, from the fact of the wheels being made of brass instead of steel, although it has no fusee, I consider it of later date than the other two, and to have been made in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The form is oval, the length  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches, breadth  $2\frac{1}{4}$ , and thickness  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches. It strikes the hours and quarters, the latter upon a small bell between the works and the dial, and has an alarum which sounds on the larger hour bell. The case is of metal gilt, and ornamented with open work of a pattern similar in style to the two last, but of different workmanship, it being flatter on the surface, and engraved rather than sculptured; forming a sort of transition to the style of ornament which prevailed afterwards. The movement is curious and beautifully executed, and the various parts of it, viz. the going part, the striking part, the quarter part, and the alarum, all moved by separate main springs, are most cleverly arranged within so small a space. There is, as I said, no fusee, but the equalising spring has unfortunately been removed when it underwent the process of cleaning, by some ruthless hand, who either did not understand or did not consider what he was doing; but the screw holes which fixed it remain to shew where it was. This is perhaps the earliest instance of a stop watch, as it is of a minute hand, for there are contrivances to stop the action of each of the four movements at pleasure, either for the convenience of moving it about, to prevent injury, or for other reasons. But the most remarkable part of this watch is the existence of the minute hand, and its being concentric with the hour hand. Many ancient clocks had a small dial separate from the hour dial, on which the index revolved once in an hour, shewing the quarters, which alone were marked on it. But the invention of a minute hand to watches, concentric with the hour hand, has always been attributed to Daniel Quare, after the going of watches had been rendered more regular by the application of the pendulum spring to the balance

wheel in 1675. Here, however, is an instance of the minute hand, such as now used, having been invented early in the sixteenth century. And there is no doubt, either in the opinion of myself, or of watchmakers who have examined it, that the minute work is quite original, and coeval with the watch, for the watch has been constructed purposely to admit of it. The wheels of this portion of the works are all of steel, and together with the mechanism of the alarum are beneath the small quarter bell. How this great improvement in watches came to be so little esteemed, or fell into disuse, it is difficult to conjecture. I may here mention that the hour bell is oval, and great skill and ingenuity were exercised in making the oval bells which are found in these early clocks and watches. There is also a peculiarity in the striking, for it only strikes the hours from one to six, and then commences again at one, after the Italian manner; and it is therefore probable that it was made for Italy. On this watch the maker has fortunately engraved his name, Niklaus Rugendas; and that he was an artist of Augsburg, I learn from a Viatorium or small portable sundial in my possession which was made by him, and bears the inscription "Niklaus Rugendas, Augsburg."

After the invention of the fusee, watchmakers seem very soon to have constructed watches of a much smaller and more compact size and form; the striking and alarum machinery with the heavy bell were often dispensed with; and the simple going movement, made very small, was inserted in various ornaments, and inclosed in elegant cases of every fanciful variety of form for the use and ornament of ladies. Andreas Heinlein, of Nuremberg, is mentioned by Doppelmayr, as being famous for the small watches which he introduced into musk or perfume boxes. The Duke of Urbino is said to have had offered to him in 1542 a striking watch mounted in a ring; and Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, is said to have bequeathed to his brother the Bishop of Ely his walking stick, with a watch mounted on the top, in 1575. In order to afford the owners the satisfaction of seeing the works in action, they were frequently inclosed in cases of crystal.

No. 4 of those on the table is a very pretty and neatly-made watch of that description. It is of octagonal form, and a block of rock crystal is hollowed out to receive the works, and a crystal cut in facets to correspond covers the face. It will be seen that there is now only one circle of figures on the dial, which is of silver, and those in Roman characters. The maker was one Nicholas Goedeij, a Dutchman.

No. 5 is a very elegant crueiform watch, called by the French *montre d'Abbesse*, and it was most probably made for some ecclesiastical lady. It is in the form of a pectoral cross; on the cover of the face the design, wrought in relief, represents in the centre the Crucifixion, with the figures of the Virgin and St. John standing

on either side, whilst at the extremities of the arms of the cross, as well as on other parts, are angels and cherubs. On the back, in the centre, is the figure of the Virgin with the Child in her arms, surrounded also by angels and cherubs. On either side, and beneath her, are three other figures, whilst above her is the head of an aged man, probably intended for The Father; around the sides of the watch are engraved the various emblems of the Passion. The watch is of metal gilt; the face is also gilt, and engraved with a figure of the Virgin and Child; whilst the hours, to which a hand of blue steel points, are marked on a circle of silver. The works are prettily arranged, according to the form of the cross, and bear the inscription, "Finiely à Aix." The original cruciform case, ornamented with silver studs, accompanies it. I consider it to have been made about 1560, or soon afterwards.

No. 6 is an oval watch of metal gilt, ornamented both on the front and back with engraved subjects, and with elegant and finely-executed open scroll work round the sides, to let out the sound of the bell; it being an alarum. The engravings are much defaced by wear, and the subjects can with difficulty be made out. That on the front is the delivery of the head of John the Baptist to the daughter of Herodias at Herod's banquet, from the 14th chapter of St. Matthew, and that on the back is the baptism of our Saviour, from the 3rd chapter. The face is very elegant; the figures are in Roman characters on a circle of silver; within it revolves a gilt plate pierced with open scroll work, beneath which is a plate of blue steel, contrasting well with the gold. To this plate the hour index is attached, whilst in the centre is the hand to set the alarum. Outside the hour circle is engraved a border of very graceful foliage, fruit, flowers, and figures. The most interesting circumstance connected with this watch is the fact of its having been made by the famous David Ramsay, clockmaker and astrologer to King James I. He most probably came from Scotland with the king on his accession to the English throne, and was continued by Charles I. as the royal clockmaker; and on that account was nominated the first master of the Clockmakers' Company in the charter of incorporation in 1631. His intimacy with William Lilly the astrologer, and his adventures with him by night in Westminster Abbey, when seeking for treasure with the divining rod, are well known, and are to be found detailed in Lilly's autobiography. The last time David Ramsay's name appears in the Minutes of the Clockmakers' Company is in 1655, about which time he died. His name is engraved on the works of this watch; but it was certainly engraved by a Dutch workman, who has made it into a Dutch name, by spelling it *Remsaij*, putting two dots over the *y*, after the manner of the Dutch *ij*. In order, therefore, to prevent his being



taken for a Dutchman, David had "*Scotus me fecit*" put after his name, thus leaving no doubt as to his country, though his name was misspelt. This watch was probably made very early in the seventeenth century.

Soon after the beginning of the seventeenth century, probably about 1610, watchmakers began to adopt the circular form for their watches, and the oval soon fell into disuse. I think it may be said that few round watches were made before 1610, and few if any oval watches after 1620.

No. 7 is a circular lady's watch. The front and back of the case are of bloodstone, surrounded with a circle of garnets, set in silver. Round the side of the watch square tablets of bloodstone are set in the metal frame, and between them were once short rows of garnets. These, however, except the two which were secured by the rivets of the pendant, having been only fastened on with cement, have been lost. The face is of silver; and here a new character appears. The ground is cut away and left dead, whilst the figures and ornaments are in relief and bright, the actual Roman letters themselves being as formerly in black enamel. Over the whole of the back plate is laid a very delicate pierced silver scroll work. The watch was made by one Adam Glück, and is therefore a piece of German work. It is in perfect order, and in its original condition, and I think it to have been made soon after 1610.

No. 8 is a circular watch of silver, in its original case of black leather ornamented with silver studs. Its exterior is quite free from ornament, and made round and smooth so as to slip conveniently into a pocket. We now find glasses frequently used to cover the faces of watches. This may have arisen from the circular form rendering it more easy to procure and fit them, as well as perhaps from the advances made in the manufacture of glass, which had now become more common. This watch is very nicely made, especially the face. The outer circle is numbered with the days of the month, the index to which is carried by a small gilt ring which revolves between it and the circle of the hours, and which is so neatly fitted that its junction is not perceptible, and the face looks like one single surface instead of three separate concentric circles. The watch was made by Robert Grinkin of London, probably about 1620, as a portrait of one of my ancestors, bearing this date, exhibits a watch precisely similar.

No. 9 is a silver alarum watch, probably made about 1630. The form of the watch is round and smooth. All round the side is a broad band of open work, consisting of a scroll of flowers and foliage of a peculiar character. The design is bold and graceful, and very open. It seems to have been a sort of conventional pattern of the time, and prevailed much as an ornament of the sides of clock-watches and alarums at this period. It was not peculiar to any country, for watches made in

France, Geneva, and England, all have it alike. This watch was made at Lyons by Claude Champagnieu : it is in perfect order, and quite in its original state, going still with its primitive catgut.

No. 10, the next in the series, is an astronomical watch of somewhat large dimensions ; and, though of the same shape and external characters as the two last, being  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and 2 inches thick, its size precludes its being termed a pocket watch. It is of silver, and round the sides has a band of perforated work of pattern and character similar to that last described. I have seen several large watches of precisely this size and character, and which were evidently all made at the same period, though by different makers, and at different places. They must have been used as the portable travelling clocks of that time. This was made at Geneva by Jean Baptiste Dubouie, and bears a striking contrast to the Geneva watches of the present day. It shews, however, that at that time the Geneva watch trade was established. It is a clock-watch, with an alarum, and shews on the different circles of its face the hours ; the period of the day, whether morning, noon, evening, or night, by certain allegorical figures engraved on a revolving disc, which change suddenly and present themselves at the proper times ; the days of the week, also represented by revolving figures ; the days of the month, the name of the month, and the number of days it contains, together with the sign of the zodiac in which the sun is ; the age of the moon and its phases ; and lastly, the four seasons of the year, "as they in their circle run," by allegorical figures engraved on a revolving disc, in the same manner as the four periods of the day. It is a complicated but very beautiful piece of mechanism ; but is, however, not quite in its original state, some former possessor having about a century and a half ago caused a new balance wheel with pendulum spring to be added to it to make it perform more regularly. It is accompanied by its original key and travelling case of black leather ornamented with silver studs.

No. 11 is an elegant example of a lady's watch towards the middle of the century. The works are inclosed in a box of blue steel, the outer ornamental case being of flagree gold, which from its appearance I take to be of Genoese workmanship. The face is of bright gold, engraved with a landscape, and the hand is of blue steel. This is an early instance of a watch being inclosed in an ornamental case. It was made by Benjamin Hill, who was admitted of the Clockmakers' Company in 1641, and was probably made some time between the years 1640 and 1670—about which time he died.

We now come to a new class of watches, so far as their exterior is concerned, viz. those in enamel cases. We are indebted to the French for the art of painting in opaque enamels. In 1630 Jean Toutin, a goldsmith of Chateaudun, and a great

master in painting in transparent enamels, applied himself to the use of thick colours of different tints, which should melt with fire, and yet retain their lustre. He succeeded in the attempt; and as he employed thin plates of gold for the foundation of his works, this style of enamel painting became available for a variety of ornamental purposes—watch cases being among the number of articles so ornamented. He communicated his secret to his fellow-artists, and the first who distinguished himself was Dubié, a goldsmith, who worked for the King at the Louvre. After him came Morlière, a native of Orleans, who worked at Blois, and he applied himself chiefly to painting rings and watch-cases; but his pupil, Robert Vauquer, of Blois, excelled them all both in design and colour. He died in 1670. Chartier of Blois, succeeded to admiration in painting flowers, and Huoud le puisné in figures.

No. 12 is one of these watches, the enamel case being the work of Toutin. The opaque whiteness of the colouring is very remarkable, being quite different from any previous enamels; and from its peculiarity there is no difficulty in at once recognising the works of Toutin. With regard to the subject represented, the inscription near the pendant is "*Histoire d'Apian*;" but who he was, or what the history, I cannot say. On the front three men in classical costume, but disguised in masks, are forcibly carrying off two women, whose defenders lie slain in the background, whilst their horses and attendants are waiting in the distance. The design is good, and the painting of a fine finish, though slightly worn. The interior of the case is painted with landscapes in enamel. The dial is also enamelled, having a subject of figures in the centre, surrounded by a white circle, on which are marked the hours. This is the first instance of an enamel dial-plate. The hand is of gold. The movement is by Paul Viet of Blois, and is quite perfect, and in its original state. I consider the date of this to be about 1635.

No. 13 is a very beautiful specimen of this kind of enamel. It is, however, only a watch-case, and I doubt from its very perfect condition if it ever had any works fitted to it, or was ever used. It is an exquisite painting, and from the style I judge it to be the work of Morlière or Vauquer. The interior is also ornamented with landscapes enamelled in black, upon a blue ground. The subjects on the exterior are in appearance classical, but I cannot say with certainty what they represent.

No. 14. This is the last of my collection now on the table, and is the most beautiful watch I have ever met with—indeed I have never seen any one like it. The case is ornamented with a very curious kind of enamel, consisting of brilliantly coloured flowers raised in relief on a black ground. The front of the watch is richly studded with diamonds, and the effect is as brilliant as it is elegant. The



interior is enamelled like the last, with landscapes shaded in black on a greyish blue ground, whilst the dial-plate is enamelled in a manner quite similar to that described in No. 12. From this I infer that the case is the work of an artist at Blois, possibly of Chartier, who, as we have just seen, was at this time famous for painting flowers. The movement of this watch was made by David Bouquet of London, who was one of the first freemen of the Clockmakers' Company in 1632, and died about 1665. The watch was probably made about 1640. From this I am led to think that these enamelled watch-cases may have been manufactured for sale by the artists of Blois, and that watchmakers in other places procured them from there, and fitted them with their own works. And in like manner I am inclined also to conjecture that the silver cases ornamented with that peculiar perforated pattern mentioned in Nos. 9 and 10 may have been the work of some particular artist who supplied the trade with them.

Having terminated the description of the watches exhibited, in which I have introduced such remarks as were required to illustrate and explain their peculiarities, I now proceed with such further observations as relate to the history, art, and trade of watchmaking.

First, with regard to the invention of the main spring, and the date of it, it seems to be a generally received opinion that the coiled spring was invented as a maintaining power for clocks before the end of the fifteenth century. Writers are, however, often too apt to take upon trust what they find in print, and quote from one another, without searching for the original authority, and thus an error once made becomes perpetuated. The two chief authorities for that opinion seem to be the title of the Sonnet of Gaspar Visconti, to which I alluded in my former letter, and a passage from the works of Panciroli, who is assumed to have lived in the fifteenth century, and to have said that in his time watches were made no bigger than almonds. This has been quoted from one book to another without any one taking the pains to refer to the original work of Panciroli, to see when he lived and what he wrote. Now let us see what is the fact. Guido Panciroli was born in 1523, became Professor of the University of Padua in 1547, and at the invitation of the Duke of Savoy went to Turin, where he wrote in Italian his work on the "New Discoveries and Inventions of Things unknown to the Ancients," some time before the year 1582; he died in 1599. In the 10th chapter, which treats of clocks, he says, when speaking of the various forms of clocks and watches, "Molti (orologi) sono fatti in maniera che la notte ci svegliano, a quell'ora che vogliamo; e si fanno in diverse figure acciò si possino tenere nelle tavole, portare al collo in forma d'un' Amandola, e in qualunque modo noi vogliamo, ed in alcune si vede il moto e il

corso della Luna." Thus, writing at the end of the sixteenth century instead of the fifteenth, he only tells us of the kind of watches which were made and used at that time, and is therefore no authority for the invention of watches in the fifteenth, for he does not even allude to it. This error has arisen from a mistake in the century in which he lived, and from quoting from the Latin translation of his works by Henry Salmuth instead of the original Italian.

In the historical introduction to the Catalogue Raisonné of the Debruge Duménil Collection of Mediæval Antiquities, now being sold in Paris (a very useful and valuable work), it is stated under the article "Horlogerie," when speaking of the invention of the main spring, that "Carovage, or Carovagius, who lived in 1480, is considered as the inventor of portable clocks with striking and alarum movements." I do not know whether it is meant that he was the inventor of the main spring itself, or only of its first application as a moving power for clocks. In either case it would be interesting to know the authority for the statement. There is also another beautiful French work, elaborately got up, with abundance of illustrations, now in progress, called *l'Histoire de l'Horlogerie*, wherein it is stated that the main spring and alarum were invented in the time of Charles VII., that is, before 1461. It also states that Carovagius, Myrmecides, and other French clockmakers, made table clocks with main springs in the reign of Louis XI., and during the latter part of the fifteenth century; and that Carovagius made a curious table clock, with alarum, for André Alciati, and seems to ground the opinion of the early invention of the main spring on that fact, together with the statement of Panciroli, of which I have already disposed. Bernhard Carovagius was a celebrated artist of Pavia at the end of the fifteenth century, and was famous for the clock which he made for Andrea Alciati, which when it sounded the alarum struck a light and kindled a lamp. Now, as to the time when this was made, Andrea Alciati, a celebrated lawyer, was born at Milan in 1492; he studied at Milan, Pavia, and Bologna; in 1521 he was Professor at Avignon, which place he was obliged to quit in 1529, and take refuge in France under Francis I.; he afterwards returned to Milan, again went to Pavia, and died at Bologna in 1550. Therefore, as in 1500 he was only eight years old, the clock could hardly have been made before the sixteenth century.

Who Myrmecides was I can no where find. In this work an engraving is also given of a clock said to be of the fifteenth century; but, inasmuch as the style of the clock is quite of the Renaissance period, and the material iron or steel elaborately wrought, and damasked with silver and gold, it is, as far as one can judge from a drawing, more like the beginning of the sixteenth century than the end of the

fifteenth. No mention is made of its internal construction, which might materially help to fix the date.

Berthoud, in his "*Histoire de la Mesure du Temps*," no where mentions either Carovagius or Myrmecides, and had he considered either of them the inventor of the main spring, or of portable clocks, he would hardly have omitted to have mentioned them in his chronological table of the artists who were the known authors of the different inventions and improvements in clockmaking from the earliest period; he no where states who was the inventor, but seems rather disposed to consider it, together with the contrivance to which he gives the name *stackfreed*, an invention due to German artists. I must confess that I have not met with any sufficient authority for dating the invention of the main spring earlier than the sixteenth century, when Peter Hele first made watches; for if the main spring had been invented so long, and small portable clocks had been made in such numbers in France and Italy, I cannot understand how they should have been so little known at Nuremberg, which was then famous for its clockmakers; or that Peter Hele should have got so much praise and admiration for a clever new invention, when he had only reduced the size of the long-known portable clocks, and rendered their form more convenient for carrying about the person. Besides this, the cause of the great admiration of the scientific persons of his day was, his having made a clock which would go "*absque ullo pondere*," and might therefore be carried about the person, and in that, as it seems to me, lay the novelty and merit of his invention; and I am therefore disposed to consider him the inventor, until I know of some proof to the contrary. Poppe, who wrote a detailed history of the art of clock-making, published at Leipzig in 1801, is of opinion that Peter Hele was the inventor of pocket clocks or watches about the year 1500, but thinks that Gaspar Visconti's poem may have alluded to small portable astronomical clocks, moved by a main spring, the inventor of which ingenious motive power he says is no where recorded or known. This, however, admits the main spring to have been an invention of the fifteenth century. It is surprising that he neither notices the primitive form and arrangement of the early main spring, nor the first contrivance for equalising its force, which may indeed be almost considered as a part of the main spring, for without some such contrivance it never could have been employed as a source of regular and equable motion.

Gaspar Schott, in his "*Mirabilia Technica*," published in 1664, under the head "*Mirabilia Chronometrica*," speaks of the main spring as one of the moving powers for clocks, but does not give the name of the inventor or date of the invention. He



says there are two modes of equalizing its force, and then minutely describes as the first the spring of which I have spoken, but gives it no name. He then proceeds to describe the fusee, as the second mode, which he says wound up the main spring by means of a cord or *small chain*, but again he neither mentions the inventor nor the date, and, indeed, it is nowhere even surmised who was the inventor of the fusee, which Berthoud and Le Roy agree in considering "*la plus belle invention de l'esprit humain.*" That the fusee was invented as early as 1525 is proved by our Bohemian clock; but from the fact of the fusee there being made of lead, or some such soft metal, instead of iron or brass, as they were soon afterwards, I am induced to think that to have been made in the infancy of the invention.

When the fusee was first invented catgut was employed as the cord by which the main spring was wound up. At what time chains were first made and used in watches I cannot with certainty determine. They were probably however first used in table clocks before they were made so small and fine as to suit watches. I have seen an astronomical table clock which goes for twelve months made by Johan Sajler of Ulm, about the latter part of the sixteenth century, where the chain is certainly original; the links are very long, and the appearance is very different from more modern chains. That they were used in watches in 1664 we learn from Schott, and it is quite certain that catgut was used in some very costly watches as late as the middle of that century. We may therefore, I think, conclude that they began to be adopted for watches about 1650. In the "*Histoire de l'Horlogerie*" it is stated that a watchmaker named Gruet was the inventor of the chain, but no date is given.

With regard to the manufacture of watches and the trade of watchmaking, Poppe states that Nuremburg and Augsburg were the first cities in Germany where watches were made. Ulm also soon became famous for them, but that during the sixteenth century but few watchmakers were found in the other cities of Germany. Paris had numerous watchmakers early in the sixteenth century, and Francis I. found it necessary or desirable to incorporate them and give them statutes in 1544. At Augsburg also they were under some kind of municipal regulations. In France watchmakers were early to be found in other cities, especially Rouen, Blois, and Lyons.

The works of the earliest clocks and watches seem to have been entirely of iron or steel. Brass, however, was used for the pillars and plates of watches before the invention or application of the fusee, but the wheels still continued to be made of steel for some time longer. During the second quarter of the sixteenth century, however, brass seems to have been certainly used for the wheels of watches, and

has so continued to the present time, although iron or steel continued to be used for the wheels and frames of clocks till towards the end of the century. At first neither clockmaking nor watchmaking appear to have been exercised as distinct trades at either Nuremburg or Augsburg, but the same individuals seem to have exercised indiscriminately the trades of locksmiths, gunmakers, clock and watch makers; and in fact all the earliest makers of watches mentioned by Doppelmayr were locksmiths, they being probably the most skilful artists in fine iron work. In like manner the Blacksmiths of London were in early times also makers of large clocks, the material of them being iron and requiring heavy forging. Paul Von Stetten, in his *History of the Arts, Manufactures, and Trades of the City of Augsburg*, makes the same remark, and, enumerating several of the early clock-makers of that city, states that the families of some had for generations carried on the same business, and that they prided themselves thereupon.

In Seddler's *Universal Lexicon*, under the article *Clock-trade*, it is stated that the English and Augsburger were famous for their clocks and watches, and made many of the watches and table clocks which shewed the hours, phases of the moon, and days of the month. At Augsburg were also made most of the clocks and watches with moving figures, such as a Moor, or monkey, which blew a trumpet, and similar toys, moved by clockwork concealed within them. These toys were chiefly made and used for presents from the ambassadors from Christian countries to the Oriental princes and barbarians. At Nuremberg is stated to have been made a miniature silver army of cavalry and infantry, which moved their limbs, went through their exercise, and fired by clockwork within. In the imperial cities of Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm, clock and watch makers were obliged to observe certain ordinances, and, as a proof of their skill and ability, for a masterpiece, to make a horizontal, square, or hexagonal table clock; masters' sons were free to choose which, and eight months time was given them to complete the work.

The artists of Nuremberg and Augsburg used to bring their clocks and watches in great numbers to the Leipzig fair, and thus they were spread abroad over Europe. In speaking of the watches of the end of the seventeenth century, it is stated that the English watches were most esteemed, particularly the repeaters, which not only struck the hours of themselves, but when the work at the side was pressed, they struck the quarters and hours. Next to the English, the French, Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm watches were famous; and Geneva watches also were esteemed for their cheapness. I have somewhere seen it stated that the origin of the Geneva watch trade was the persecution of the Protestants in France, towards the end of the sixteenth century, which caused some Protestant watchmakers to fly from

France and take refuge in Switzerland ; a circumstance very probable, for the trade was well established there at the beginning of the seventeenth century. I am not able to fix the precise date of the introduction of watches into England ; the following note however is interesting, though no date is given. In the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, No. 1039, among the memoranda of Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough, dated 1695, is the following entry :—

“ John Chamberlayne, Esq. of Petty France, Westminster, has a venerable picture of his great-grandfather, with a long beard, gold chain, and furred gown, with this inscription :—‘ Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, of Prestbury in Gloucestershire, Ambassador from England to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, to Philip the Second of Spain, and to the King of Sweden in Flanders. He married a lady of the House of Nassau, and from thence also he brought the first coaches, and the first watches, that were seen in England. He was born in the reign of Edward the Fourth, and died in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.’ The first watch so brought over is now in the hands of Catharine, daughter of Thomas Chamberlayne, Esq. of Oddington in Gloucestershire, wife of Charles Cox, Esq. a Judge in Wales.”

The family of Chamberlayne of Oddington, I believe, became extinct in the male line, and was succeeded by the family of Cox above mentioned, and at the beginning of the present century, I believe, the male line of that family also became extinct ; and there is, I fear, small chance of tracing the watch after the lapse of more than a century and a half.

London had many watchmakers established by the middle of the sixteenth century, if not earlier, and many specimens of that date bearing their names still exist.

Having now brought my letter to a close, I have only to add my hope that should any one discover error in any statement I have made, or conclusion I have drawn, he will do me the favour to correct it, my only object being to elicit and ascertain the truth.

I remain, dear Sir Henry,

Yours truly,

OCTAVIUS MORGAN.



XXIV.—*Observations on the Story of Lucius, the first Christian King of Britain.*  
*By HENRY HALLAM, Esq. V.P.*

Read March 21, and April 11, 1850.

THE ecclesiastical history of Britain is generally made to commence, after some conjectural hypotheses as to the original preaching of Christianity, with the celebrated conversion of a king named Lucius, in the latter part of the second century. The two writers on our ecclesiastical antiquities who have most claim to deference for learning, as one of them has for critical judgment, Usher and Stillingfleet, as well as those of a secondary, yet respectable character, such as Collier, unite in receiving this as an authentic fact. Yet some have always been found to doubt, among whom we may place Whitaker and Henry, as rather more peremptory than the rest; the former being certainly not over sceptical in matters of historical tradition. But Dr. Lingard and many others of our contemporaries, though under the necessity of moulding the story into a less questionable shape than it has come down to us, have not ventured to reject the whole as a fable, or to deny that a certain king during the reigns of the Antonines was the means of spreading the light of the Gospel over a part at least of our island, after having sought and received instruction at the hands of the Bishop of Rome.

It may therefore be reckoned by zealous antiquaries, especially if they happen to have Celtic blood in their veins, an unreasonable piece of scepticism, when I confess myself unable to attain the slightest degree of belief as to the entire story, taking it as recounted in the usual authorities. The Society will permit me to lay before them the reasons which have led me, first to doubt, and finally to reject, the conversion of Lucius, except, as will hereafter appear, in a form altogether different from that in which it stands in our histories. And I must begin by requesting them not to expect any new discovery, nor any evidence which is not already published to the world, it being my only province to discuss what has been produced.

Every one who has attended in the least to this subject must know that the leading authority for the existence of Lucius, and his conversion to Christianity, is found in the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, lib. i. c. 4. It is not mentioned by any extant writer of earlier date. This chapter it will be necessary to give at length.

“Anno ab incarnatione Domini centesimo quinquagesimo sexto, Marcus Antoninus

Verus decimus quartus ab Augusto regnum cum Aurelio Commodo fratre suscepit." This sentence is copied from Orosius, a writer to whom Bede is chiefly indebted, and whom he has generally transcribed, in this Roman portion of British history. But he proceeds with the following passage: "Quorum temporibus cum Eleutherus vir sanctus pontificatui Romanæ ecclesiæ præesset, misit ad eum Lucius Britanniarum rex epistolam, obsecrans ut per ejus mandatum Christianus efficeretur, et mox effectum piæ postulationis consecutus est; susceptamque fidem Britanni usque in tempora Diocletiani principis inviolatam integramque quieta in pace servabant." In the sixth chapter Bede relates the persecution of the Christians under Diocletian (A.D. 304), and in the seventh the martyrdom of St. Alban, probably from a legend making mention also of some others by name, "urbis Legionum cives," citizens of Caerleon on the Usk, who suffered death on the same account. These names, and probably the fact, he has taken from Gildas.

The chronicle of Bede, which is a very brief epitome of civil and ecclesiastical history, compiled from various sources, has a sentence about Lucius, which I will not detach from the context: Defuncto Commodo fratre Antoninus Commodum filium suum consortem regni fecit. Antonino imperatori Melito Asianus Sardensis episcopus apologeticum pro Christianis tradidit. Lucius Britanniae rex missâ ad Eleutherium Romæ episcopum epistolâ ut Christianus efficiatur impetrat. Apollinaris Asianus Hieropoli, et Dionysius Corinthi, clari habentur episcopi." This short and unconnected epitome adds nothing by way of evidence to the former passage of the same author. Eleutherus (not Eleutherius) was Bishop of Rome from A.D. 177 to 193; Marcus Aurelius died in A.D. 180. Bede only refers the embassy of Lucius in general words to the age of the two Antonines, *quorum temporibus*. That the elder, who became emperor, as he tells us from Orosius, in A.D. 156, was dead some years before the date assigned to the conversion of Lucius, scarcely can be said to render the expression inaccurate. These are very trifling embarrassments in comparison with the general improbability of the story; yet Usher labours through some pages to reconcile incongruous dates.

The great difficulty that occurs in the passages from Bede which we have just extracted is, that more than half a century after the island, as far as the Firth of Forth, if not beyond, had been reduced into a Roman province, we find Lucius roundly called Britanniarum rex; the very style of our gracious Sovereign at this day. Could such a title belong to a prince of Caldonia? or of Wales, if we suppose, as some have done by arbitrary conjecture, that a few counties of that principality enjoyed a wild independence after the subjugation of the more open country? They could not have included the whole of Wales, since one of the *Itinera* runs to Neath, and another to Carnarvon.

It has, however, been suggested by Stillingfleet, and was, perhaps, still the favourite theory of our antiquaries in the last century, that Lucius reigned over a very different part of the island; namely, the old seat of the Regni, or the counties of Surrey and Sussex. And to support this it was presumed that he was the successor of Cogidunus, to whom, in the reign of Claudius, some cities or districts, *quædam civitates*, were granted by the Romans, with the royal title. (Tacitus, *Vita Agricolæ*, c. 14.) This petty dominion, though Tacitus does not intimate its locality, has, in consequence of an inscription found at Chichester with the name "Tiberius Claudius Cogidunus rex, legatus Augustus," been very reasonably placed on that coast. We are not concerned, however, with Cogidunus, but with Lucius, a century later. Against mere hypothesis, where no proof is pretended, it is waste of time to contend; for the succession of Lucius to Cogidunus we have not the smallest particle of testimony. It rests on a mere conjecture, and one untenable as such. For, notwithstanding the assertion of Camden, which many have echoed, it must appear more than doubtful whether it was consistent with the policy of the empire, and the analogy of its constitution, to permit the continuance of a line of native princes, especially in the heart of the country, after Britain had been fully reduced into the form of a province, which took place, as is well known, in the reign of Domitian. Camden speaks of the ancient practice of the Romans to have kings in their provinces as the instruments of slavery. Not, I conceive, *in* their provinces, though sometimes near them; and the passage which he quotes from Julius Capitolinus rather proves the contrary of what he alleges it to mean. Lucius Verus, that historian says, after some victories by his lieutenants in the East, "*regna regibus, provincias comitibus suis regendas dedit.*"<sup>a</sup> Here the two are clearly distinguished. We find several instances where particular kings, after becoming effectively subject to Rome, have retained a dependent power with their title, analogous to that of some princes at this moment in British India; but we find also that after no long time, in consequence of rebellion or misgovernment, their dominion was absorbed in the provincial government; exactly as has happened, and may do so again, in the parallel case. Such were the house of Herod in Judea, that of Ariarathes in Cappadocia, and Cotys in the Piedmontese Alps; and such was Cogidunus himself. This would render the succession of Lucius to Cogidunus improbable, were it less destitute of anything like presumptive evidence than it is.

We are, of course, not warranted to set aside historical evidence which bears on a fact otherwise authenticated, or probable in itself, because some of the language,

<sup>a</sup> Gibson translates, *comitibus suis*, by "their counts." But I doubt whether this sense of the word is so ancient. The context of the passage leads me to think it should be rendered, "by his own companions," those of Verus himself, to whose manner of life the historian had been just alluding.



wherein we find it recorded, asserts what is untrue. But when we read such a palpable misrepresentation as *Britanniarum rex*, when the words can by possibility only relate to some very insignificant tributary of Rome, it is natural to consider a little the value of the authority. And this assumption of royalty over Britain for the unknown Lucius does not stop here; since the Britons, the nation itself, *Britanni*, are represented to us as brought to the Christian faith by the missionaries of Eleutherus, and retaining it until the reign of Diocletian, more than a century later. That Britain contained many Christians long before the time of Diocletian, or perhaps before that of the supposed Lucius, may well be granted; but the words used by Bede seem to imply a much more general conversion than we have any reason to believe. We have very scanty evidence of British churches in the third century; and in fact we know that they were not numerous in the northern regions of Gaul till the latter part of that age. For this we may refer to Mosheim, "*De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum*," p. 449.

The embassy of a British prince to Rome, his own conversion, and that of his subjects, or, if we please, his compatriots living under the imperial government, are events remarkable enough, one might suppose, to have found a place in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, if not to have been mentioned by the Christian writers of the second and third centuries. This, however, is not the case; no corroboration has been found for the passage in Bede throughout the mass of patristic literature. Tertullian, indeed, and this passage has often been quoted, boasting of the progress of the faith, talks of *Britannia inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo autem subdita*. But the style of Tertullian is proverbially rhetorical. The only truth that probably lies beneath his exaggeration may be, that in the great diffusion of Christianity about the beginning of the third century it had been preached to some even in remote parts of Britain. That many professed our religion, whether with regular churches and dioceses or not, among the provincial Romans or native inhabitants, has been already admitted. But this really does not bear on the received story of Lucius. The constant intercourse of Italy and Gaul with Britain is sufficient to explain it.

But the silence of foreign writers is hardly so suspicious as that of Gildas. We have in him a British Christian of the sixth century, a priest himself, and writing with the peculiar regard to ecclesiastical events which we always find in those ages. He affirms that Christianity was introduced among the Britons in the time of Tiberius, or, as some interpret the passage, in order to avoid so glaring a misrepresentation, about that of Nero; the words being hardly reducible to any distinct meaning. He then proceeds: "*Quæ (præcepta Christi) licet ab incolis*

tepidè suscepta sunt, apud quosdam tamen integrè, et apud alios minus, usque ad persecutionem Diocletiani tyranni novennem. (Hist. Gild. i. 9.) Not a word here of Lucius and his mission to Rome; a fact worthy, one would think, of being recorded in the briefest history. He proceeds to the martyrdom of St. Alban, and those in South Wales, which Bede has also mentioned.

This omission had such an effect on Stillingfleet, by much the highest authority for critical judgment among those who have maintained the general truth of the current story, that he makes this strong observation: "If a negative argument will hold any where, it is where a person hath as much reason to know as any that follow him, and as great occasion to discover what he knows; both which will hold in the case of Gildas compared with Bede and later writers." (Origines Britannicæ, p. 67.) It is hardly possible to put the argument on my side, and against his own, more pointedly than this great antiquary and critic has here done. Perhaps, considering the looseness of Gildas as an historical witness, his silence is not quite conclusive as a negative argument; but it has considerable weight in corroboration of other presumptions.

It may naturally excite some curiosity, how Stillingfleet, after drawing so unfavourable a conclusion from the silence of Gildas, has yet pronounced on the whole, that the existence of Lucius ought to be believed, though he does not vouch for every part of the story. "That there was such a person who was a king and a Christian," he says, "is proved, besides the concurrence of so many authors from Bede's time, from the two coins mentioned by Archbishop Usher, one silver, and the other gold, having an image of a king on them with a cross, and the letters LUC. as far as they could be discerned." (p. 62.) Strange, surely, that with his remarkable acuteness and experience in historical criticism, Stillingfleet should have mentioned the concurrence of so many authors after Bede, as adding any corroboration to the evidence, when there is so little likelihood that they had any other authority than Bede himself. His Ecclesiastical History was the main source from which early writers drew their knowledge of the ancient history of our island. It cannot of course be wonderful that so memorable a circumstance as its first conversion to the Christian faith, having received the seal of his great authority, passed without hesitation into every history. Even in later times, as I have already observed, many have related it as certain, and few have gone further than to reduce the language of our venerable historian into some compass of credibility. The accumulation of obscure and modern testimony which we find in Usher's long disquisition on the tale of Lucius is a curious specimen of omnivorous and misplaced erudition. A single grain of critical good sense is worth all this chaos of chaff, so frequent in the

learned men of the sixteenth and first part of the seventeenth centuries. But the assent of Stillingfleet to this second-hand evidence is the more remarkable, because he had a few pages before observed, "It is an excellent rule of Baronius in such cases, that no testimonies of later authors are to be regarded concerning things of remote antiquity which are not supported by the testimony of ancient writers." (p. 35.) Now, though we may think the expressions here rather too strong and unlimited, seeing they would make such havoc with historical tradition as to leave none standing, it is still in the main a very useful rule, especially where contemporaneous writings have been preserved, and the best safeguard against a credulous reception of precarious evidence.

We are not left, however, by Stillingfleet to this echo of secondary authorities. He lays stress, as will have been observed in the passage above quoted, on two coins reported by Usher to have been found, "bearing the image of a king with a cross, and the letters LUC, as far as they could be discovered." But he has not translated the words of the Archbishop quite literally. They run as follows: "*Nec hic prætereundum repertos esse in Anglia duos antiquissimos nummos (argenteum unum, quem habuit M. Josephus Hollandus, aureum alterum, quem inter D. Roberti Cottoni κειμήλια vidimus), Christiani regis, uti ex signo crucis appposito colligitur, imagine, et literis obscurioribus, quæ LUC denotare videbantur, insignitos.*" *Britannie. Eecles. Antiquitates*, c. 3, p. 58 (edit. Elrington).

The words *literis obscurioribus* would of themselves throw considerable doubt upon the application of these coins to King Lucius. I do not think that in the rigorous scrutiny of evidence which our own age demands, any one, not strongly prepossessed, would pay much regard to these supposed coins, if neither of them had ever been seen since the days of Usher, considering the very indecisive manner in which his description is expressed. But fortunately we now know something more, and can altogether put out of court an evidence which even Stillingfleet seems to have thought so important. In Speed's *History of Britain*, published in 1618, we have a coin engraved as a sort of head-piece to his translation of a manifestly spurious letter from the Pope Eleutherus to Lucius; yet, what is a little remarkable, he takes no notice of it in his text, probably because he felt himself unable to risk an assertion of its relation to that monarch, though wishing to suggest such an inference to the reader. This coin has a head surrounded by something like a string of pearls, as some have thought, or a chain, as seems more probable, and with two cross lines on the obverse; and on the reverse a horse with a human head, and part of a human figure beneath it. On each side of this figure is a scrawl, one a little like the letter L, the other a little like a C; there is no



appearance of a U, and probably these scrawls were not meant for alphabetical characters at all. The work of Usher on the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Britain was not published till 1639, twenty-five years after the gold of Lucius had thus been tacitly put in circulation by Speed, though very much in the manner of one who is conscious of passing bad money.

In Gibson's edition of Camden we have some "Conjectures upon the British coins added to those of Camden," by a Mr. Walker. These he says are "partly taken from Speed, partly from other friends." The coin in question (No 27 in his plate) was certainly copied from Speed. Mr. Walker in his description of it does not allude to Lucius, but says it has been conjectured to denote Arviragus, a British chief in the reign of Domitian; an hypothesis which he rejects because there is no evidence that he was a Christian. Gough, in his edition of Camden, treats the coin with too much contempt to engrave it; and says, "Mr. Speed and Mr. Walker have discovered several names on these coins, among others Lucius, whose existence is very problematical." (p. 67.) This is, as I have just observed, inaccurate, especially as to Walker. Gough, however, though here sceptical as to Lucius, shows sufficient credulity in a former note (p. 51) about the conversion of Britain by St. Paul, and even speaks more favourably of Lucius himself.

This gold coin is now in the British Museum; the delineations in Speed and Camden are very accurate. No one, I should conceive, looking at the coin itself, any more than at those delineations, would fancy, like Usher, that it contains the letters LUC, even *litteris obscurioribus*. It is uncertain by what means it came into the Museum; but, as Usher states himself to have seen it in Sir Robert Cotton's possession, it was probably derived from that great source of the treasures of our national collection. And this renders the conjecture, if it should be started, that Usher had seen some other coin, too precarious to be entertained.

The coin itself, far from being of the mint of our unknown Lucius, appears not to be even British. In the Numismatic Chronicle, No. 42, we have an engraving of it among some Gaulish coins closely resembling in their reverse. The learned editor observes:—"This type is engraved by Ruding, plate 2, fig. 26, and is the same which honest Speed proposed to give to Lucius, the first Christian British king, he having recognised the symbol of our faith in the ornament before the head." (p. 153.) These Gaulish coins are supposed by the editor to have been struck while the country was still free. As to the supposed cross, it seems hard to say what it may have meant; but it is surely strange to conclude, as we find several writers on other occasions prone to do, that every intersection of two straight lines must typify the Christian mystery. As to the silver coin mentioned by Usher, nothing,

I believe, is known about it; but it cannot hope to survive the defeat of the more precious metal. Usher does not say that he had seen it.

The history of this coin is a curious illustration of the readiness with which the authority of men enjoying a high reputation is received. A piece of gold money is found, which the numismatic learning of the age cannot trace to any certain source; an hypothesis is started, floating loose for a time among antiquaries, but congenial to some national prejudices, and appearing to corroborate a precarious piece of favourite history; a man of vast learning and high station takes it up, and gives it a sanction from ocular observation, but in ambiguous terms, and such as a critical inquirer should be slow to admit as evidence. Another eminent man in the next age translates the passage, makes it rather less indecisive, lends it his own authority, and leads the reader, especially one willing to believe, into an opinion that the former witness had actually seen what he had only inferred. The importance of accuracy, and the errors into which we may fall by taking for granted that great writers always preserve it, may be seen in the phrase of Usher, *literis obscurioribus*. This assumes the characters to be real letters of the alphabet; after which conjecture, being limited, becomes reasonable. But the characters on the coin in the Museum are not properly *obscuriores*, being perfectly distinct; the objection is that they have no manifest resemblance to any Roman letters at all. I ought to take notice that my knowledge of the existence of this coin in the British Museum was derived from a note in Mr. Pantin's edition of Stillingfleet's *Origines*; and that I was guided to the further information above given by the gentlemen in the medal room.

The English writers, whether mediæval or modern, have, as I have observed, uniformly copied Bede. But we have one very early, and, as I conceive, independent authority, next to Bede himself in antiquity of those who have made mention of Lucius, to whom our attention should be particularly drawn.

It is unnecessary to enter into the controversy about the age or authority of the history which bears the name of Nennius, because the result of all critical inquiry has been to leave the question in uncertainty. It appears however that, from whatever sources compiled, the present work of the supposed Nennius cannot be earlier than Bede, or later than the tenth century, to which one manuscript is referred by the last editor. Now in Nennius we have, first of all, a fabulous story of the original settlement of Britain by Brute the son of Ascanius; next, a brief account of the Roman invasions by Cæsar and Claudius, the latter of whom he strangely asserts to have released the island from paying tribute, which was thenceforth paid to the emperors of Britain, *Britannicis imperatoribus*. This ridiculous

falsehood seems intended to countenance the next sentence but one which follows :  
 “ Post centum et sexaginta septem annos post adventum Christi, Lucius Britannicus rex, cum omnibus regulis totius Britannicæ gentis, baptismum suscepit, missâ legatione ab imperatoribus Romanorum et a papa Romano Eucharisto.”

A question of course arises whether the supposed Nennius took this sentence from Bede. He declares himself in his prologue to have compiled his History of Britain from various sources. I transcribe the longer of the two prologues which appear in different manuscripts, the other being probably turned by some one into the purer Latin of the twelfth century : “ Partim majorum traditionibus, partim scriptis, partim etiam monumentis veterum Britannicæ incolarum, partim et de annalibus Romanorum, insuper et de chroniceis sanctorum patrum. Isidori scilicet, Hieronymi, Prosperi, Eusebii, nec non et de historiis Scottorum Saxonumque, licet inimicorum, non ut volui, sed ut potui, meorum obtemperans jussionibus seniorum, unam hanc historiunculam undecunque collectam balbutiendo coacervavi.” The history of Bede might certainly be included here under those of the Saxons. But, on comparing the two writers, I do not discover the least trace of resemblance either in words or in substance. Nennius rarely touches even the same facts of history as Bede, and, when he does so, relates nothing in the same way. It appears, therefore, by no means antecedently probable that he copied from him the account of Lucius.

In this story, as given by Nennius, the most enormous errors are glaring. In the year of our Lord 167, not Eucharistus, or more properly Evaristus, was Bishop of Rome, he having died in A.D. 109, just fifty-eight years before, nor even Eleutherus, but Anicetus. By supposing, however, an error in the manuscript, we might read septuaginta, which would answer to the first year of Eleutherus, under whose pontificate, though without mentioning any single year, Bede has placed the embassy of Lucius. This potentate indeed is not styled by Nennius king of the Britannic isles, but *Britannicus rex*, which might be more loosely construed ; in return, however, we find him accompanied in his baptism by a whole heap of British chieftains, *cum omnibus regulis Britannicæ gentis*, in utter forgetfulness of the Roman sovereignty. But the crowning piece of ignorance is shewn in the embassy of the heathen emperors, conjointly with the pope, to confer the rite of baptism on these British princes.

It appears to me improbable that Nennius took a matter of history from Bede, which he has in so blundering a manner distorted. Nothing, so far as I see, could have led him thus to deviate from recorded facts, if they were before him in a writer of high authority. He has evidently given us a different, and, as I suspect, a more ancient, form of the story. But it seems credible enough that Bede, having found



this original tradition in some British writer, would insert it with such alterations as his superior acquaintance with antiquity showed to be indispensable. He would reject the absurd fiction of an embassy from the Roman emperors, and would know that Evaristus was not Bishop of Rome in the age ascribed to Lucius. But if, on the other hand, we suppose that Bede copied literally an earlier writer, it will still appear probable that Nennius took a different tradition, or a different document, for his own authority. The two forms of the Lucian story will be independent.

The original authority in both cases must have been British, not Saxon. Hardly anything in Nennius can be traced to the latter source; while Bede, besides the credit we may give to his general learning and research, was indebted to Gildas for several particulars which he has mentioned in his Ecclesiastical History. If therefore a book existed in the Latin language, written by a Briton, and containing the story of Lucius as Nennius has copied it, we shall not go too far in conjecturing that Bede would think it worthy of insertion, with alterations of circumstance which he perceived to be necessary, though leaving a great deal which could not be strictly true. But when did this story originate? If there is no foundation for it, we may be induced by the silence of Gildas to place it below his time. And it has occurred to my mind that a motive for the fabrication may be found in the pretensions of the rising Anglo-Saxon church in the seventh century, to treat that of the Britons as almost schismatical, on the score of her own immediate derivation from the Holy See. If there had been a prince of Britain in very early times, who had sought instruction in the faith from Rome herself, and had received baptism by the commission of a pope far more ancient than Gregory, the boast of priority was no longer due to the Saxon invaders. Britain was not only of earlier Christianity, which of course could not be disputed, but of earlier connexion with the great patriarch of the West. Nor would such a supposition contradict the primitive independence of the British churches, for which our antiquaries so zealously, and, as it seems, so successfully, contend. This indeed can only be a question of time, and of time incapable of ascertainment. We know that Hoel Dda made a journey to Rome early in the tenth century to obtain a confirmation of his laws from the Pope; nor have we, as I apprehend, sufficient knowledge as to the Welsh Church for the three preceding centuries to determine that, even in the latter part of the seventh, it rejected an authority which had become almost universally, probably with the exception of Ireland, accepted by the Western Church. But authority, strictly speaking, is not implied in the story of Lucius; it implies a Catholic union with Rome and a filial derivation. Those who, from the mode of keeping Easter and other peculiarities, think an Eastern origin of the British Church more probable than a Roman, have

an additional reason for rejecting the mission to Eleutherus. I am only suggesting a source of the story; and I cannot think it improbable at least that some British clergy might be glad to use the story of King Lucius in controversy with the Saxons, and to take off from their pride. I think this more likely than the hypothesis of Mosheim, that the Saxon monks invented the story, in order to persuade the Britons into an acknowledgment of the papal supremacy. It turns upon the question, whether the Welsh writers copied Bede, or Bede derived his information from them; and the latter appears, as Stillingfleet also thought, the more tenable conjecture. It can be given of course merely as such; but the manifest errors in civil and ecclesiastical history which the Nennian tale displays, could have arisen in none but a very ignorant age.

Another form of the story of Lucius is found in the *Liber Landavensis*, which appears to have been compiled, partly from earlier sources, in the twelfth century. This contains a passage of which the following is a literal translation. "In the year of our Lord 156, Lucius King of the Britons sent his ambassadors, namely, Elvan and Medwin, to Eleutherius 12th Pope of the apostolic see, imploring, according to his (Lucius's) direction, that he might be made a Christian, which he obtained. For thanking God that a nation which from the time of the first inhabitant of the region, Brute, had been heathen, so ardently hastened to embrace the faith of Christ, by the advice of the presbyters (*seniorum*) of the Roman city, he (the Pope) thought fit that the said ambassadors should be baptized, and, having been instructed in the Christian faith, he ordained, Elvan as a bishop, Medwin as a doctor. And these preachers, eloquent and learned in the Holy Scriptures, returned to Lucius into Britain, through whose preaching Lucius and the chiefs of all Britain were baptized, and, according to the command of Pope Eleutherius, he established the ecclesiastical hierarchy, caused bishops to be ordained, and taught the rules of a good life." (p. 65.)

The whole *Liber Landavensis* has been lately published, but this passage was quoted by Stillingfleet, Dugdale, and Wharton. It is less inconsistent with known truth than that in Nennius, though placing the embassy of Lucius in A.D. 156, long before Eleutherius, or rather Eleutherus, became Bishop of Rome;<sup>a</sup> and it is more copious than Bede, adding to the old tradition the names of two persons, deputed by the king, one of whom became the root of the British episcopacy. But as no such person is mentioned in authentic history, we cannot pay such regard to

<sup>a</sup> The coincidence of this date with that mentioned by Bede for the accession of Antoninus Pius, with which he commences the chapter wherein he proceeds to relate the conversion of Lucius, renders it probable that the compilers of the *Liber Landavensis* took this from the *Ecclesiastical History*, mixing up what they found there with their own Welch records or traditions.

Celtic tradition as to receive this Elvan; and the lateness of date in the *Liber Landavensis*, after the story of Lucius had been accepted for so many centuries, renders its testimony of little corroborative weight.

Thus we find, as it appears to me, the ground giving way beneath us, when we examine the current story of Lucius. By the current story I mean his sovereignty over some part at least of Britain, and his mission to the Pope in order to bring himself and his subjects into the Christian church. There is, however, another form less pretending, but more consonant to probability, in which it has been lately presented. The Rev. Rice Rees, in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, 1836, after admitting that "the history of Lucius is involved in uncertainty, and that even the Welsh accounts must be received with caution," inclines to reject the mission to the Pope, as well as the royalty of Lucius, but thinks the tradition recorded in one of the triads not incredible, that Lleufer Mawr, a British chieftain, though subject to Rome, erected a church at Llandaff, which was the first in the isle of Britain (pp. 82, 83). It is remarkable that Mosheim had already hit on a similar solution, except that he took Lucius for a Roman. (*De Rebus Christianorum lib. Sæculum, ii. sect 3.*)<sup>a</sup> The introduction of Christianity within the second century, so far as that Romans professing it may have come into Britain, cannot be thought improbable by the most sceptical person; and, though we have no distinct evidence in ecclesiastical history that these scattered believers had crystallised, if I may be allowed the expression, so early into episcopal churches, yet, this being the natural form in which they must, when sufficiently numerous, have appeared, we cannot avoid supposing that it took place in no great length of time. That the Britons themselves might in many cases embrace the same faith is not at all unlikely; and the expression of Tertullian, "*Britanniæ inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo autem subdita*," though losing a little of its trust-worthiness by the tendency of that father to rhetorical hyperbole, may be thought not unreasonably to indicate South Wales; which, though in a certain sense subject to Rome, and included in the province, did not probably contain many except native Britons in its hilly districts. No reasonable person, however, will suppose that Llandaff was independent, the Roman road to Neath running almost past it; so that if Lleufer, as seems probable from the story, lived immediately near the place, and founded the see, he could only have been a subject of Rome. That at least could not have been among the *inaccessa Romanis loca*.

<sup>a</sup> "Lucium ejusmodi extitisse non dubito; verum nec Britannum, nec Britannorum regem fuisse puto. Ipsum nomen, quod Romanum est, declarat potentem fuisse ex Romanis, qui tum in Britannia regnabant, virum."



The Welsh triads are not referred, in their present form, even by their most strenuous advocates, to an earlier date than the seventh century ; indeed most of those whom they celebrate belonged only to the preceding age. But of course they may have incorporated many traditional or even written memorials. The first conversion of a Silurian chief, the first erection of a cathedral church, were events which, in either way, might naturally be known to the bards of the seventh century. But, as I believe the false story, with all its exaggerations, to have originated about that time, the modest truth would sooner or later give way before it. It appears from the Ecclesiastical History of the Cymri by Archdeacon Williams (1844), that some of the Welsh poems confirm, as far as they go, the general story of a certain Llewrgwg, as a British king, and his immediate communication with the Bishop of Rome. No small degree of nationality is required before we admit it on testimony so late and so improbable. But by adopting the simple account of the triad as given by Mr. Rees, we get rid of an hypothesis, which we are generally rather loth, if possible, to admit, that of an absolutely baseless and deliberate falsehood. Such falsehoods are by no means rare in ancient tradition ; yet we observe every day in mankind a much greater readiness to misrepresent a story, and to overcharge it with additions, than to create it, as it were, by wilful forgery. Every objection to the conversion of Lucius, using that name as the appellation of a certain British noble, will disappear, but at the expense of almost all that historians have related. The real Arthur of the sixth century is more like the fabulous hero of Geoffrey of Monmouth, than the British gentleman, Lleufer, even with Mawr tacked to his name by the piety of later ages, is to the king of Britain, Lucius, receiving baptism, with all his tributary princes, at the hands of missionaries sent by the Roman emperors and the Pope, as he appears in the magnificent fiction of Nennius. How much may be taken from an historic tradition without destroying what may be called its personal identity, how many elements of truth must remain in divesting it of the incrustations of falsehood, before we can positively set it aside, is a question of some interest in the logic of evidence, but which has not always been duly considered by antiquaries. It seems hardly sufficient to warrant our assertion of the truth of any alleged history, that there is some foundation for it ; else a name, or an event, however distorted, would serve the turn as a basis for the most enormous superstructure. There seems to be in every historical narrative a principle of individuation, something like a primary germ, round which a redundant variety of accessory circumstances may be clustered, and removed by us, according to our notions of their probability ; but which cannot itself be taken away, without destroying the intrinsic reality of the whole, and rendering it improper and

incorrect in language to ascribe to it the character of truth. Thus it is reasonable to say that we believe the historical truth of the Trojan war, though we may doubt the rape of Helen, and the duration of the siege. But if we deny a general confederacy of the Greeks, and suppose only a partial expedition at some time or other against a city of Phrygia, we should properly be said to disbelieve in the Trojan war, because the *punctum vitæ*, the individualizing principle of that history, consists in the tradition of a general league comprehending most of the Grecian states. Nor would it be accurate to say that the Niebelungen Lied has even a foundation in history, merely because we find in it an Attila king of the Huns, a Theodoric born at Verona, and a Gunther on the Rhine.

If we apply this to the particular story of Lucius, I must incline to say that it is not true, provided its truth be no other than what I have admitted to be by no means improbable. This indeed may be reckoned by some rather a question as to propriety of language than one that affects our historical assent. But in historical, as in other reasoning, it cannot be unimportant to acquire and retain precise ideas, whether for our own apprehension of truth, or for our imparting it to others. This, however, every one must determine according to his own use of words; and I shall merely proceed to state, as the result of the whole inquiry, what I take to be the real case as to the Lucian problem.

It appears then that, according to a tradition prevailing in Wales about the seventh century, and not improbably sustained at that time by writings of an earlier date which have not come down to us, a considerable British nobleman, but subject to Rome, and settled in the Silurian country, embraced the Christian faith towards the latter part of the second century, and, as the tradition proceeds, founded the see of Llandaff, the earliest that existed in Britain. This tradition is in itself sufficiently credible, and no objection from the silence of ecclesiastical or other authors is of much weight against it; it receives some countenance on the other hand from a loosely-worded passage in Tertullian soon after the time. Yet it is not so well supported by testimony as to be taken into history for an admitted fact. This, however, being generally believed among the Welsh, a story was ingrafted upon it in the seventh century, a time of great ignorance, the aim of which was at once to magnify the importance of this British chief, by metamorphosing him into a sovereign, and to establish an early connexion of the church founded by him with the see of Rome, whose authority had recently been lent to a hostile line of bishops, by whom the British churches were treated as schismatical. The story thus fabricated is that which we read in Nennius, affecting a regard to chronological and historical exactness, but grossly deficient in both. Bede met with the same story in some

British writer, and inserted it in his Ecclesiastical History, with such alterations as took off somewhat from its manifest inconsistency with known history, though still leaving it in a shape which we must absolutely refuse to admit. Having once been received into so considerable a work, it was copied as a matter of course by our writers of the Anglo-Saxon and later periods, none of whom had any other information than what had thus been furnished to them. The clergy before the Reformation rejoiced to produce an evidence of the paternal care of Rome; while the English of every persuasion saw in it a proof of the early preaching of the Gospel in this island, which according to the common prejudices of mankind seemed to flatter our national pride.

We cannot, indeed, wonder that so splendid a story as the conversion of Britain under the fostering care of Lucius, coming as it did with the sanction of so many centuries of unhesitating belief, would not readily be given up, when we find, even in this age of acuter criticism, the slightest presumption, or in fact no presumption at all, taken hold of to establish a very early date for the reception of the Gospel in this island. Thus, not to dwell on Joseph of Arimathea and his Glastonbury thorn, or Bran, the father of Caractacus, or St. Peter and St. Simon, who at various times have been conjectured or asserted to have first preached it in Britain, we have had several within a few years, and among others a late prelate of considerable learning, but a little apt to take the wrong side in critical questions, who have brought St. Paul from Italy, without resting by the way, in order to evangelize the natives. Such an hypothesis is intrinsically rather improbable, both because the tenor of St. Paul's preaching was far more adapted to the learned and reasoning Greeks or Romans than to barbarians; and because so very distant a journey hardly leaves sufficient time between his release from imprisonment and his death, for that later sojourn in Greece and Asia which the Epistles to Timothy and Titus compel us to believe that he made. Nor does it rest on any testimony before that of Theodoret in the fifth century, which itself is not explicit. For, though there is very early mention of this apostle's having gone into the furthest regions of the West, it is much more natural to construe this of Spain than of Britain, which, though Catullus once calls it a western island, would at Rome be rather counted in the north. And to Spain we know from himself he once intended to go.

I may here, perhaps, be indulged, though with some deviation from the principal subject of this paper, in adverting to another supposition, not unconnected with early British Christianity, which, besides finding a place in almost every book that bears on ecclesiastical history, has within a few years been maintained in a pamphlet by the Rev. William Bowles. This hypothesis identifies the Claudia whose saluta-



tion St. Paul, in almost his last written words, transmits to Timothy, with a British lady of that name, whom Martial has celebrated in two epigrams. This conjecture I believe to be wholly without foundation. It rests solely on the fact that while St. Paul names Pudens at the same time with Claudia and two others, as members of the Roman Church, we read in Martial the marriage of two persons bearing those names. "There is some reason to believe," says Southey in the Book of the Church, after alluding with too much respect to the Welsh tradition about Bran the father of Caractacus, "that Claudia, who is spoken of together with Pudens by the Apostle Paul, was a British lady of this illustrious household, because a British woman of that name is known to have been the wife of Pudens at that time" (p. 12.) In such a mode of stating the proposition, there certainly would be fair reason to think it not improbable; but that the Pudens of St. Paul was identical with the Pudens who espoused a British lady is exactly the question, and Southey has merely begged it by his mode of expression. It is still more negligent to say that a British woman of that name is known to have been the wife of Pudens *at that time*. The very contrary is distinctly known. The second epistle to Timothy cannot be referred to a later year than A.D. 67; that of the death of Nero, under whom St. Paul suffered martyrdom. The epigrams of Martial appear, with probably few exceptions, to have been written in the reign of Domitian, extending from A.D. 81 to 96. In one of these he mentions the marriage of Pudens to Claudia as then taking place.

Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti;  
Macte esto tædis, o Hymenæe, tuis.

It is true that in some editions we find *nupsit*; but the sense, as is manifest from the context, will be the same; the event is spoken of as having just occurred. Now, as we can hardly suppose the Claudia of St. Paul, whose salutation, together with that of Pudens, he sends to Timothy, as from friends known to him during his former residence at Rome, which was some years before, to have been very young, there seems a tolerable presumption against her marriage so many years afterwards to the same Pudens; and the presumption, at least, from their names being mentioned together, that they were actually married, falls to the ground. Pudens, though Mr. Bowles, with a precipitancy inexcusable in a scholar, has taken from Speed the ridiculous supposition that he received the name "on account of his modesty, and virtues, and gentleness," was evidently the *cognomen* of a family.<sup>a</sup> The name Claudia may excite more curiosity, as it belonged to the imperial house in the time

<sup>a</sup> Roman names no more express personal qualities than our sur-names do at present; each may have done so in past ages, when they were first given.

of St. Paul. But the great Claudian house ended, I believe, with Nero; the second emperor of that name, the conqueror of the Goths, though much more worthy of so high a lineage than the first, was, according to Gibbon, of an obscure, and not a Roman family. It cannot derogate from the convert of St. Paul, that we may suppose her to have been a freed-woman of the household of Cæsar, to some Christians among whom the Apostle alludes in his Epistle to the Philippians. In this case, according to the Roman custom, she would bear, as a *libertina*, the name of the *gens* by one of which she, or her father, had been enfranchised. Martial mentions a Claudian in another epigram, v. 78, who seems to have been a low woman, probably a *libertina*; the line, however, is rather obscure. But the British Claudia, the highly accomplished lady who spoke Latin and Greek like a native of those countries, the wife of Pudens, was evidently in a higher station. And, that I may not seem so universally sceptical as to favour no conjecture, I will admit myself inclined to think it fairly probable that she was descended from the great Caractacus. That hero, we read in Tacitus, was brought to Rome with his family, among whom a daughter is mentioned; and, after the noble speech before the imperial tribunal which the historian ascribes to him, received pardon for himself and them: "*Veniam Cæsar ipsi et conjugi, et filiis tribuit.*" (Tac. Annal. xii. 36.) It would be consonant to Roman usage that, thus naturalized in Italy, the family of the British prince would receive, as by adoption, the name of the emperor, by whom probably they were maintained in a manner befitting their birth, and the admiration which, as we read in Tacitus, the bravery of Caractacus had excited at Rome. We find at least with certainty that in the course of perhaps about thirty years, a lady of British extraction, and celebrated for her own beauty and accomplishments, was married into a Roman family. We can hardly suppose that there were many at Rome. And we thus account for the name Claudia, which could not have been her British patronymic. In some manner she was connected with a person named Rufus, who frequently occurs in Martial's Epigrams. It has been fancied that here also we have the Rufus once mentioned by St. Paul; but the name was very common. I do not think that either Claudia or her husband Pudens can with any colour of probability be claimed as a Christian. Certainly nothing in the character of their friend Martial, or in the thoroughly pagan language of his Epithalamium, will countenance this hypothesis. It may be added, that if the husband of Claudia was the same Pudens who appears in other epigrams, lib. v. 48; i. 32, his morals were not such as we justly attribute to the early converts of the apostles.

This little episode, however, into which I have been led, has no other connexion

with the story of Lucius than as a similar spirit of grasping too credulously at hypotheses fancied to be of national interest seems to have been at the bottom of both. We do truth a service by discarding her counterfeits; we act as reasonable beings in not mistaking possibilities for presumptions, or presumptions for certainties. No one ought to say that he believes a fact unless he would lay considerable odds, were the wager determinable, on its truth. This is rather a familiar way of stating the case; yet it is strictly logical, since all probability is in its nature as much subject to numerical valuation, though for the most part unassignable by us, as the throws of a pair of dice. In the course of a critical investigation we may observe, if we keep our minds free from prejudice, the odds perpetually varying, as more extensive information, or more determinate reasoning, present them to the reflective faculties. For my own part, I began the more attentive consideration that I have now given to the account of Lucius in Bede with only a preponderance of disposition towards incredulity; but this has been so much enhanced during the progress of inquiry, that I now think the improbability insurmountable, unless on the very arbitrary hypothesis that much evidence of real importance has not been brought to light. It is just possible that some illustrations of the British tradition may yet be detected in Wales: in the Latin language, after all the researches of the learned, it is scarcely conceivable.



XXV.—*An Account of a Discovery of early Saxon Remains at Barrow Furlong, on the Hill Farm, in the parish of Marston St. Lawrence, in the county of Northampton. By Sir HENRY DRYDEN, Bart. Communicated to the Society through C. ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter addressed to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq. Secretary.*

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Read Feb. 14th, 1850.

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MY DEAR SIR,

5, Liverpool Street, City, February 4th, 1850.

SIR HENRY DRYDEN has very kindly placed in my hands his notes and drawings illustrative of a discovery of sepulchral remains in the county of Northampton made a few years since, chiefly under his personal inspection.

The care with which the facts disclosed on that occasion have been collected and recorded, and the copious manner in which drawings have been made of the various objects discovered, give an unusual degree of interest to this communication, which I am sure the Society will appreciate in common with all who in such matters have experienced the advantage of being furnished with a full statement of circumstances, and, on the contrary, have felt the embarrassment that frequently arises from non-attention to particulars. No one can estimate better than yourself the importance of well-authenticated facts in forming conclusions on the nature and object of ancient remains which in themselves do not always carry an intelligible meaning, or which may be brought before us under anomalous circumstances, and particularly when we venture to apply the objects themselves to the illustration of the habits and customs of the people to whom they belonged. In the transition periods of antiquity, such as that to which our attention is here directed, circumspection and care become still more indispensable, and a broken chain of evidence is often left incomplete from the want of some trifling links, which might perhaps have been saved by a little prompt attention.

Sir Henry Dryden has summed up the evidence he has so industriously collected upon the sound basis of comparison. He points out where the remains differ both from British and from Roman, and where, in some respects, they differ from the *Kentish Saxon*. Their affinity to the last will, I think, appear more striking if we

take into consideration the general resemblance, and suggest reasons to account for the minor features of discordance.

There is a close connexion in character between these remains and their mode of interment and those of Kent described by Douglas in his *Nenia Britannica*; and perhaps the analogy is still more striking in those excavated by Mr. Rolfe at Osengal.

The graves at Stowting and at Breach Down contained ornaments and weapons much of the same kind as those of Marston Hill, and the mode of sepulture was also similar. The graves at Marston Hill, unlike those of Kent, do not appear to have contained swords; but the spears, knives, and bosses of shields from both places are precisely similar. The brooches, however, are different in form from the generality of those discovered in Kent;<sup>a</sup> and this peculiarity, coupled with comparison afforded by discoveries in other parts of England, will, I think, enable us to attribute the remains to the people of that branch of the great Germanic stock which settled in the midland part of Britain some little time after the Jutes had occupied the territories of the Cantii. The general features of the remains seem identical: the points of difference are such as may be expected between distinct tribes of the same race.

The coins usually found in the Saxon graves of Kent are Roman, Byzantine, Merovingian, and, in one or two instances, *sceattas*, the silver coins supposed to have been struck by the first Saxon kings of Kent. Previously to their invasion of Britain, and for some time after, the Saxons had no coinage of their own, and this fact may account for our finding in the graves of the early settlers Roman coins worn as ornaments. Mr. Warren, of Ixworth, has recently procured several perforated small brass coins of Valens and Gratian, found with beads and weapons in graves at Stow Heath, near Icklingham, in Suffolk.

The two modes of sepulture, that of burning the body and placing the ashes in a vase, and that of burying the body entire, prevailed at Marston Hill contemporaneously, and probably both customs had been practised in Germany for ages anterior. Tacitus speaks of burning the bodies of illustrious Germans, and Mr. Wright in his paper on the Saxon Barrows, printed in the *Archæological Album*, cites the early Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf, which graphically depicts the funeral

<sup>a</sup> Compare the circular concave specimens, figs. 4 and 6, Plate XII. with some found in Gloucestershire. *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* vol. ii. p. 54; and pp. 52, 53, vol. iv. *ibid.* with one found in Bucks. *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 545. Those engraved on Plate XIII. are of the same class as numerous examples found in Warwickshire, in Leicestershire, in Northamptonshire, and in Suffolk. The large gilt fibula is of a class varieties of which have been found in France as well as in England.



ceremonies at the burial of the hero of the tale, the preparation of the pile on the hill, the burning of the body, and the deposit in the mound of rings, gems, and other ornaments.

But at the period to which we must assign these and similar interments it is very clear that the practice of urn burial was on the wane; and it may be questioned whether the urns with burnt bones which are sparingly scattered here and there in Saxon burial places may not suggest an intermixture of the Roman or Romano-British population with the Anglo-Saxons. This perhaps is the most satisfactory and rational explanation that can be given to account for the objects of Roman manufacture in Saxon graves, and for the juxtaposition of graves denoting the two different modes of sepulture. In support of this opinion I would particularly direct attention to the workmanship and ornamentation of the urns discovered in Saxon burial-places. Whatever may be their shape or their pattern, they are unlike all those which we may safely term Roman; they bear, in short, the imprint of a late period, a peculiar character which an examination of a few authenticated examples would better convey a notion of than any written description, however circumstantial and minute. For example, compare with the two ornamented vases from Marston Hill, figs. 20 and 21, plate iii. of Anglo-Saxon antiquities in the "Archæological Album," and the urns figured in pp. 41 and 44, vol. i. of the "Collectanea Antiqua." From the unornamented ruder kinds of urns, such as two of those before us, the archæologist will perceive that it is necessary to pause before he assigns such works to a remote antiquity on account of their rough fabrication, which may often be as indicative of the decline as of the infancy of art.

I have now only to draw your attention to the fact of the discovery of the skeleton of a horse, and the statement of Tacitus in his "Manners of the Germans," that the deceased warriors were buried with their weapons, and *sometimes* the horse, to decide the Teutonic stamp of remains such as those under consideration.

Believe me,

My dear sir,

Yours sincerely,

C. ROACH SMITH.



## SIR HENRY DRYDEN'S REPORT.

THIS burial place is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles E.N.E. of Baubury, a little more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile N. of Marston Hill farm, in the parish of Marston St. Lawrence, and 200 or 300 yards W. of the Moreton Road. The field was formerly called Bar-furlong, which name may be either derived from Barrow, or from Barr, the top or summit of a hill, as Bardon Hill (Barrdun, the top of the hill), in Leicestershire. It is on a high ridge of land running W.N.W. and E.S.E. overlooking the vale of the Cherwell to the S., and only  $1\frac{1}{4}$  mile E. of Arbury camp of Thenford Hill, which is the W. extremity of the same ridge. The ground at the place falls gently to the S. The field has been ploughed for many years. The soil is from 1 ft. 3 in. to 2 ft. deep on the top of a limestone rock averaging about 1 ft. 6 in. in thickness, under which is sand.

The first skeleton was discovered in Nov. 1842 in digging for stone for draining, and the excavation was carried on till the end of April 1843, when, having arrived at the limits of the unsown ground, further operations were deferred till next year. There was no appearance of any earthwork, the bodies being placed in graves under small hillocks as ours are now, or the surplus earth may have been spread around. The excavated space is about 150 feet by 100 feet, but trenches have been cut further out than this. There have been found up to this time (end of April) one skeleton of a horse and 32 human skeletons, all of which lay in nearly the same direction, varying from  $20^{\circ}$  to  $40^{\circ}$  E. of N. with the feet to the N.E. They were from 1 ft. 3 in. to 1 ft. 6 in. under the surface, and were stretched out with the faces upwards except four, one of which had the legs doubled back from the knees (as the workman said), two were laid on their left sides, and one on the right side. In this number I do not include a skeleton, or part of one (No. 9 in plan), found broken up in a hole.

Some of the bodies had a few stones taken from under them, but most laid on the top of the rock. The graves in which they were laid were in great part filled with fine mould, probably sifted, and some of it appeared to have undergone fire. This fine earth is usually found in interments of this nature, and the common Roman monumental inscription, S.T.T.L.—*Sit tibi terra levis*—illustrates the reason of it.

In the reference to the plan I have allotted certain relics to particular skeletons, but 15 of the skeletons were taken up before I saw the place, and therefore the appropriation of remains to these 16 is done on the authority of the workman, and the sheets of drawings of these remains I. II. III. are headed "Not appropriated." The others I believe to be quite correct. The workman marked with sticks the situation of the 16 first skeletons when I began my plan, and, being an intelligent

man, I believe them to be pretty correct. The situation of the others was accurately taken with compass and tape as they were discovered. As is shewn in the plan, many of the skeletons lay in pairs, and most of the brooches and buckles were also in pairs, one for each shoulder, as sometimes seen in designs on ancient vases and marbles, &c.

*References to Plan. (Plate XI.)*

No. 1. Horse lying on his near side, with bit in mouth, iron articles about the jaws, buckle, and I believe the brass article near its mouth. He lay 3 or 4 feet deep. Judging by some of the bones, it was not above 14 hands high.

2. Skeleton with two circular brooches and 26 beads, and what appears to be a necklace catch, being too weak for tweezers, which are often found in *Roman* interments.

3. Skeleton of small and young female with two coins, having holes in them for suspension, brass ornament square, two open brass buckles, one iron buckle, and about 16 beads, some long ones, of amber; a few of the triplet beads round her neck and a bracelet on each arm. The interment was about 3 ft. 6 in. or 4 ft. deep. A few stones were found lying on the skeleton.

4. Fragments of an urn of red pottery.

5. A skeleton measuring 5 ft. 3 in. to lower extremity of the tibia. Spear-head by the left side of the skull. Buckle in the middle, face upwards, and hands by the sides.

6. Skeleton: total length 4 feet. Hands by the sides. Knife on the right side, and buckle in the middle.

7. Skeleton: length 4 ft. 3 in. Hands in the lap; elbows squared. The stone was hollowed out 5 or 6 inches deep, so that the back of the body from the neck to the top of the thighs rested in the hollow.

*List of Relics.*

*Arrow-head of iron*—one example.

*Beads.*—There were found in all about 180 beads, of which 26 are glass, varying from 5-16ths to 13-16ths diameter (Plate XII. fig. 13). Most of them are of a bright blue colour, but one is black, one green, two have a light-blue pattern on a brown ground, one of jet, two of green stone or clay; about 120 of amber, varying in





J. B. 20.

Planned by Sir H. Dryden, Feb. 1843.

Burial Ground near Marston St Lawrence, Co. Northampton.





diameter from 3-16ths to 13-16ths, the colour varying from pink-yellow to intense ruby, most rudely made. There are also about 30 small fibrous beads made in triplets (Plate XII. fig. 12); they are formed of a greenish transparent substance with a visible fibre. Most of the skeletons had beads about the neck, varying from 4 to 26. The largest bead appears to have been cut from a large bone (fig. 9). It was found by the arm of a skeleton, about the neck of which there were other beads. In the Chinese collection now in London (184), there is a Chinaman with an ivory ring, somewhat resembling this, used to fasten his cloak at the left breast, by the rings being hooked to one part of the cloak; and one of two strings fastened at the other corner of the cloak, being passed through the ring and tied to the other string. It appears very probable that this bone-bead may have been used instead of a brooch, no brooch having been found with this skeleton.

*A horse's bit.*—This was found in the jaws of the horse. The bit resembles our present, except that ours are always used with curbs. Our snaffles always have the cheek-pieces. The reins and head-stall were fastened to this bit permanently, being riveted to the large rings by means of smaller rings with flat shanks. I think the other rings and riveting pieces attached to them, which were also found by the jaws of the horse, belong to the cavesson part of the head harness, to the largest of which perhaps was attached a strap for tying the horse up. The brass article I cannot tell the use of. In Douglas's "*Nenia Britannica*" there is a bit like this.

*Bracelets.*—The only bracelets found were with the supposed lady, No. 3 in plan, one on each arm. They are of brass, and elasp together like some of ours, and were sewn on to the strap by two holes in each piece.

*Brooches.*—There were found in all 10 pairs (Plate XII. figs. 1, 3, 4, and 6; and Plate XIII. figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6), and one single one (Plate XIII. fig. 3), which is a very beautiful specimen of copper partially gilt. The relieved parts are not gilt, whilst the hollows are as bright as when new. The pin is lost, as well as the hinge piece of the catch, which has been *filed* off. It is singular that no one of the brooches had the pin in it or with it; three have catches apparently filed off, and only three or four have the hinge pin remaining. In all the brooches, except the large one, the hinge is a single piece of metal with a hole through it, so that the pin was forked at the end, and the hinge pin passed through the three together. In some of the brooches there is a lump of rust of iron about the hinge, by which it appears that the pins and hinge pins were of iron, and probably so thin that corrosion has destroyed them. The iron tongue of one buckle was found with the buckle, which makes it more probable that the pins of the brooches were also iron. The brooches themselves appear to vary between pure copper and pale brass. Plate XII. figs. 4 and 6, are concave. Total 21.

*Buckles.*—There are two pairs and one of brass buckles, of which the two pairs are large circular over-buckles, and the single one is small and of common shape. There are five iron buckles, of which one was found on the rump of the horse, and doubtless was connected with a crupper. One iron buckle has a brass strap, and there is a similar one engraved in Douglas.

*Coins.*—Only two coins were found in the part opened. One is decidedly of Carausius, and the other, though much corroded, appears to be of Salonina, the wife of Gallienus. Both coins have holes drilled through them for suspending them, and they formed part of the neck ornaments of No. 3.

*Comb.*—This was found in the bottom of the urn No. 10, and was covered with the burnt bones. The rivets are of iron, and the pattern the same on both sides, (Plate XIII. fig. 1.) The material is bone. The bones were carefully washed and sifted, but no more teeth than those could be found, and therefore it is probable that it was in that state when put into the urn. We may suppose it was the most precious article of a lady's toilet whose bones are contained in the urn.

*Knives.*—These vary in length of blade from  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. to  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and in breadth from  $3\frac{1}{4}$ ths to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch, and vary but little in shape. All seem to have been fastened into handles of wood by a sort of spike at the bottom of the blade, and probably had wooden cases for the blades, which would account for our not finding any rivets, &c. with them. Total 12.

*Pins for the hair.*—There are five of them of brass (Plate XII. fig. 7), of which one (Plate XII. fig. 11) has a ring of brass wire attached to it, and probably all have had, for there are holes for that purpose in them. They vary from  $3\frac{3}{4}$  to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length. There is one bone pin, or rather part of it, with a brass wire ring (Plate XI. fig. 10) in the head of it. It must have been about the same length as the others.

*Rings.*—There is only one ornamental ring, which is of silver wire, and was found on the finger of a skeleton. It is now broken in two places, but there is little doubt that it was as seen in the restored drawing. (Plate XII. fig. 8.) The two iron rings have been described with the horse.

*Shields.*—The shields themselves must have been of wood or other perishable material; but we have one handle perfect, and a remnant of another one, and four bosses of shields. The bosses of the shields are all of the same shape, but vary in size a little. From their being more numerous than the handles, we may suppose that some handles were made of perishable materials. In one boss we see the rivets which fastened it to the shield. They all closely resemble those figured in Douglas's "Nenia." The handle of the shield is perfect as far as the parts of it, but it is broken in two places. A piece of wood has been riveted on to the



curved part in the middle of it. The object of having it so long was perhaps to brace the shield together, and strengthen it, though it does not appear that it was fastened to the shield, except at the two ends. From the distance of the bar of the rivet at one end from the handle we may conclude that the shield was 5-16 in. in thickness. The hand of the person using this shield would be immediately under the boss, as is shown by the handles being straight, for of course there would be no room for the hand between this handle and a flat surface. I imagine that those shields which had not iron handles had two leather loops, one which came across the arm below the elbow, and the other held by the hand.

*Spears.*—These vary in length from 6 inches and 3-8ths to 1 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  in., and in breadth from 1 $\frac{1}{8}$  inch. They vary but little in shape, the only peculiar one being that found with No. 16, which is unlike any I know. It can only be explained by the drawing (section 1.) The spears were all found in the same position, that is, close to the head, and pointing upwards, which circumstance makes it probable that the staves of the spears were of the height of the man, or they must have been cut short. Two skeletons (Plate XI. Nos. 29, 37) had two spears each; the other five only one each.

*Urns.*—It is singular that although the workmen were careful to look for all the pieces of the several urns as they came to them, yet they did not find all the parts of any one of them. Only a few fragments of one in red earth, of globular shape, were found, and I did not learn that any bones were with it. The urn which contained the comb<sup>a</sup> is of a rich brown colour, and ornamented. It was full of burnt bones. That from grave No. 32 is of a coarser pottery than the others. Burnt bones were also found with this. No. 35 was the last found; it is of dark clay and is ornamented with horizontal ribs. A few burnt bones were found about it. It appears to have been the largest of the four, and is of about the same texture of pottery as Nos. 4 and 10.—Total 4.

Of the articles found some are now in my possession by the gift of the Rev. E. G. Walford. Others are in the hands of J. M. Severn, Esq., of Mr. A. Beesley the historian of Banbury, and of Miss Jeffs of Marston Hill. To the two first mentioned gentlemen I am indebted for much of the information here detailed.

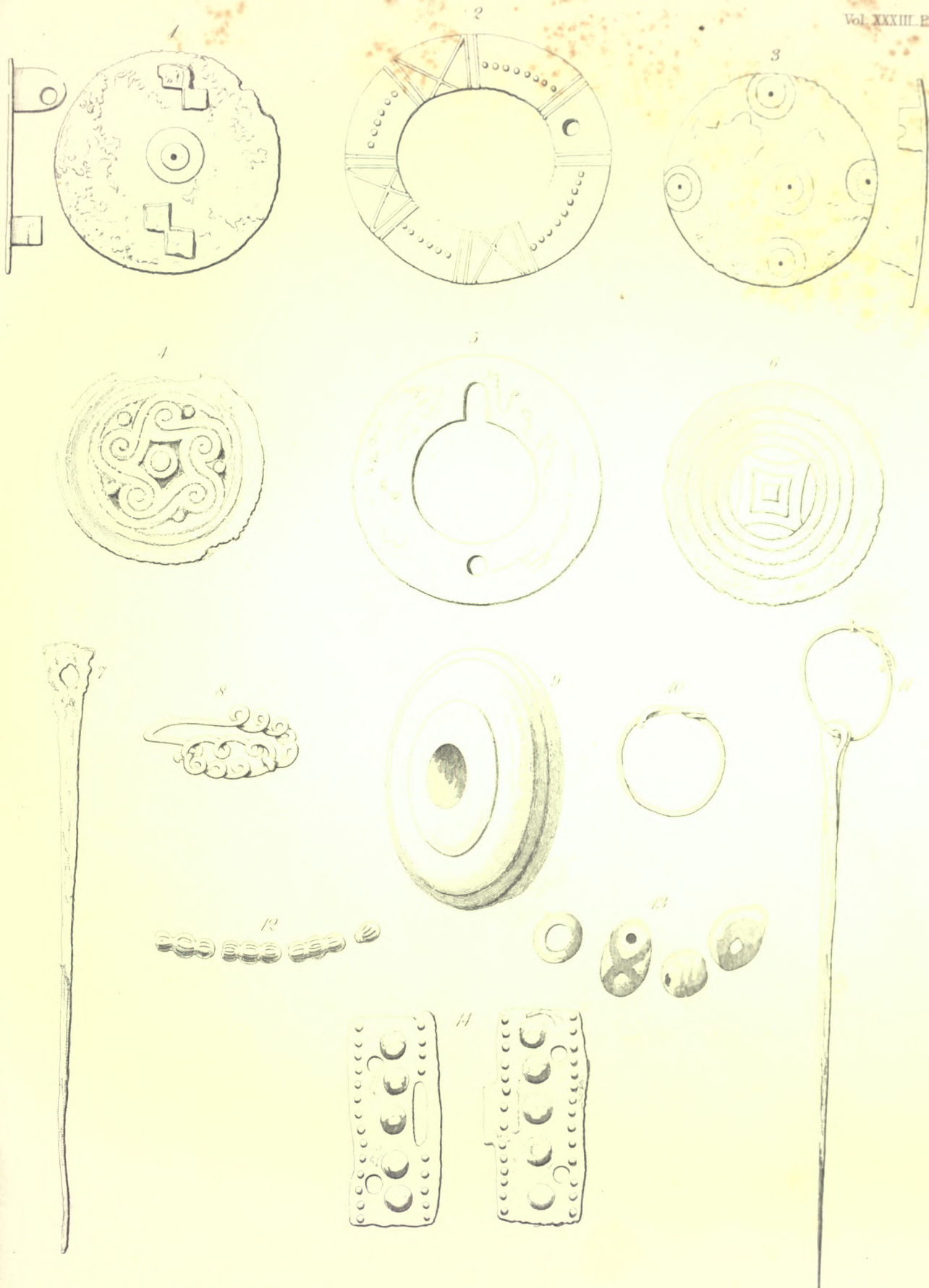
Having described as far as possible the articles themselves and the circumstances attending their discovery, it remains to attempt an appropriation of them to some particular class of people. If we compare them with the Keltic remains found in the Channel Islands, we see in them an improvement in the arts. Where undoubted

<sup>a</sup> It is figured on p. 44, vol. i of the "Collectanea Antiqua."

Roman remains are discovered in places of sepulture, we find a different system of interment. Cremation, it is true, is common to such burial-grounds as Marston Hill, but the grand feature in the class of interments to which that under consideration belongs, is the presence of personal decorations and weapons, and especially of weapons in iron, a metal which is on all sides agreed to have been but little used before the Roman invasion. There are two classes of people to one of which these remains therefore belong, namely, to the Britons after their subjugation by the Romans, or to their successors the Saxons. Many have decided that such remains are Saxon because of the circular brooches and the comb, the former being often figured in Anglo-Saxon illuminations ; but I may here remark that interments of the kind here described are more common in England than any other kind except those positively known to be of the Anglo-Saxon period.

H. D.

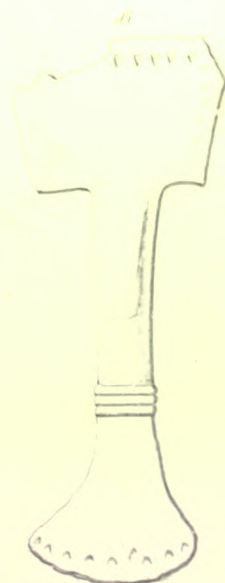
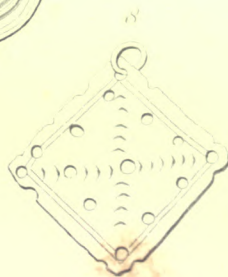
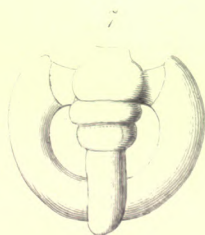
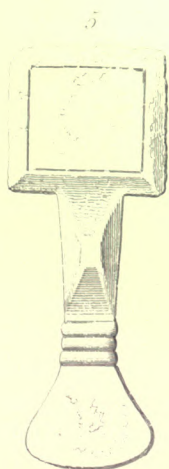
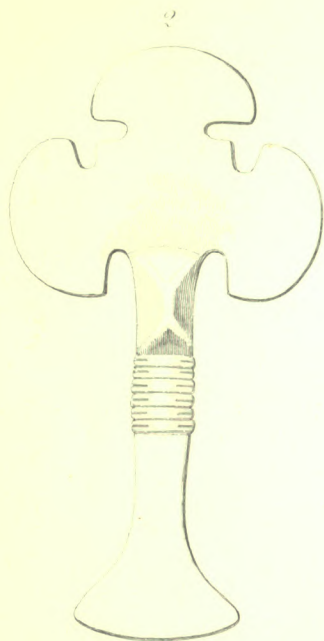
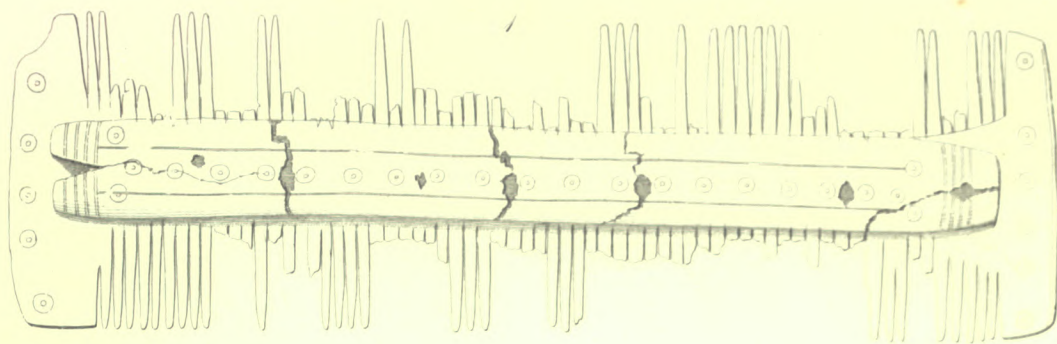




Personal Ornaments found at Marston, St. Lawrence, Northamptonshire.











XXVI.—*Remarks on the Sword, Dagger, and Ring of King James the Fourth of Scotland, preserved in the College of Arms, London.* By SIR CHARLES GEORGE YOUNG, Garter, F.S.A.

Read April 18, 1850.

THE sword and dagger now exhibited, accompanied by drawings thereof, (Plate XIV.) are said to be those taken from King James IV. after the discovery of his body on Flodden Field, an assertion not recently made, but supported by a tradition of long standing.

Upon the death of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, in 1677, his brother, Henry Earl of Norwich and Lord Howard of Castle Rising, succeeded to the dukedom, and became the heir of his ancestor, Thomas Earl of Surrey, Generalissimo of the English forces at Flodden. The marbles, statues, pictures, medals, and books which, at one time, formed the splendid collections of his grandfather, Thomas Earl of Arundel, having in great part descended to him, he seems from a generous and patriotic feeling to have determined upon their dispersion. His donations of marbles to the University of Oxford, and of manuscripts to the Royal Society and the College of Arms, are well known.

Soon after a portion of his manuscripts had been given to the College he also presented to that body the sword and dagger in question, together with a turquoise ring belonging to King James.

An entry on the Minutes of Chapter in the College of Arms on the 3rd day of November, 1681, referring to these articles, states that his Grace the then Duke of Norfolk had been pleased to deliver to the College of Heralds "the very sword and dagger, and a gold ring set with a turquoise stone, which his ancestor, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, took from James the Fourth, King of Scotland, at the battle of Flodden Field, where the said king was slain." In their custody the sword, dagger, and ring have remained ever since.\*

\* The length of the blade from the hilt to the point is 3 feet and three-eighths of an inch. The hilt is 6 inches and seven-eighths.

The one side of the blade is inscribed "Maestro Domingo;" on the other apparently the words "ESPOIR CONFORTE LE GVEVAL."

The blade of the dagger is  $13\frac{3}{8}$  inches, and the hilt  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in length.

The office of Earl Marshal had, in the year 1672, been made hereditary in his Grace's family, and he probably thought that College of which his successors were to become the hereditary presidents, might be a secure repository for their future preservation.

The period which had elapsed from the battle of Flodden until the presentation of these articles was not quite one hundred and seventy years; and it is hardly credible that the Duke could be mistaken as to the history and identity of trophies which had been carefully preserved in his family, and which may be said to have been regarded as memorials of a victory by which his ancestor had acquired imperishable glory and renown.

On the 1st February following the battle the Earl of Surrey was created Duke of Norfolk, and so restored to the dignity forfeited by his father's attainder. At the same time he received, in commemoration of his signal services, a royal augmentation to his arms, wherein the defeat of the royal monarch of Scotland was typified by a demi-lion, pierced by an arrow through the mouth, within a double tressure.

Sir William Howard, the younger son of Thomas Earl of Arundel, created Baron and Viscount Stafford in 1640, as is well known, had acquired many articles of vertu, together with books, medals, and other things, from his father's celebrated collections, through the means of his mother Alatheia Countess of Arundel, in whose possession they were by virtue of the earl's will; and it would seem from a letter written by him shortly before his own death, addressed to the Countess of Arundel, that he had in his possession a sword, which he says "was our great ancestor's at the battle of Flodden Field, with which we have a tradition in our family he killed the King of Scotland. This sword was always much esteemed by my father." Lord Stafford in his letter proceeds:—

"I do now give it unto yo<sup>r</sup> Lord, my nephew. I have taken order it shall be brought unto him. I give it upon this condition, and no other, that he leave it to the heirs males of himself, w<sup>ch</sup> I hope will be many, and their heirs males; for want of such issue unto my nephew Thomas, his brother; and for want of his heirs males to return unto my heirs."

This letter has recently been included in a collection of autograph letters by Messrs. Joseph Netherclift and Son, taken from the original, in the possession of Henry Howard, Esq., of Corby; but they have appended to it the following note, as they state, upon the authority of Mr. Howard, who imagined that the sword in the College was that referred to by Lord Stafford.

"The sword here alluded to is now in the Heralds' College, and has been exhibited as the sword of the Scottish King used at Flodden Field."

Lord Stafford speaks of the sword of the Earl of Surrey (afterwards Duke of Norfolk), with which, he says, there is connected a tradition, that he killed the King of Scotland, which is at variance with all the accounts handed down to us.

The general concurrence of writers, that the king fell by an arrow, is most probable, and would seem in a degree confirmed by the lion being pierced by an arrow in the augmentation given to the Earl of Surrey immediately after the battle. The sword which Lord Stafford gave to the Earl of Arundel, on condition only that it should go to a certain line of heirs, failing whom, to return to his own family, was not likely to be given away, within a few months afterwards, when the countess, to whom the letter was addressed, was living; and yet such would have been the case, if the sword referred to by Lord Stafford was that now in the Heralds' College. Lord Stafford, it is to be observed, makes no mention of the dagger or ring which accompanied the sword.

The present to the College was stated to be the very sword and dagger, with a gold ring set with a turquoise stone, which was taken from King James; and the gift was so soon after the letter of Lord Stafford (which, though not dated, could only have been written shortly before his execution in 1680), that the then Duke of Norfolk cannot be supposed to have confounded King James's sword and dagger with the sword of the Duke his ancestor, which had been so recently given under the circumstances and upon the condition before stated.

Lord Stafford's nephew, Henry Earl of Norwich, having succeeded to the dukedom of Norfolk in 1677, the only person after that time whom it is likely that Lord Stafford would address as Countess of Arundel,<sup>a</sup> was Mary, daughter and heir of Henry Earl of Peterborough, wife to his *great-nephew* Henry, called Earl of Arundel, and

<sup>a</sup> The following is the whole letter, written probably in 1680:

MADAM,

I beseech God preserve you, & make you happy; I pray lett yo<sup>r</sup> lord know that I do count my selfe very much obliged unto him, & wish him as well as may be; I pray lett him know that I have the sword that was our great ancestors at the battle of Flodden ffeild, with w<sup>ch</sup> wee have a tradition in our ffamily, hee killd the King of Scotland; this sword was always much esteemed by my ffather; I do now give it unto yo<sup>r</sup> lord my nephew; I have taken order it shall be brought unto him; I give it upon this condition and no other, that he leave it to the heirs males of himselfe, w<sup>ch</sup> I hope will be many, and their heirs males; for want of such, unto my nephew Thomas his brother; and for want of his heirs males, to returne unto my heirs. God blesse you all, I am near my death, and with that will averre my innocence, that am

Yo<sup>r</sup> La<sup>p</sup>'s ffaithfull humble

Serv<sup>t</sup> and unkle,

WILLIAM HOWARD.

*Address on the cover:*

For my Lady

The Countesse of Arrundell.



summoned to the House of Lords as Lord Mowbray immediately after his father's succession to the dukedom ; and for want of heirs male of the said Earl, the sword was to be given to his brother Thomas. In such case it is clear that Henry Duke of Norfolk did not possess the sword referred to by Lord Stafford, although it is very probable that the sword of the Earl of Surrey was preserved in the family as well as that of the defeated monarch.

It is singular that the identity of the body of King James, and the ultimate disposal of his remains, should have been a matter of doubt or uncertainty in Scottish history : such however is the fact. That he fell in the battle of Flodden, on the 9th September, 1513, is the general statement of historians, and there does not seem any reason to doubt it.

A short time before the rupture with the King of Scots, King Henry VIII. had sent an army into France, and laid siege to Terouenne, whither James sent a remonstrance to King Henry, induced thereto by the solicitation of the French Queen, who claimed his assistance against the English monarch, sending him at the same time, as a tender pledge of her friendship, a ring from her own finger. Thus influenced, and supported by other cogent reasons, James accelerated his movements against England.

From another authority we learn that the king had on his finger at the battle of Flodden the turquoise ring which had been sent him by the Queen of France, charging him to break a lance for her sake.

The particulars of this battle are variously related by different historians, whilst all agree in yielding victory to the English.

Most writers state, that a long and obstinate conflict was carried on between James and the Earl of Surrey in the centre of the contending armies. Sir Walter Scott refers to a curious French Gazette, preserved in the Heralds' College, and printed in the second volume of Pinkerton's History, which says the king was killed within a lance's length of the Earl of Surrey ; and Tytler, the most recent Scottish historian, after remarking, " In his ardour, however, the king forgot the duties of a commander were distinct from the indiscriminate valor of a knight," following Hall, says, that he placed himself in front of his lances and billmen, surrounded by his nobles, who, whilst they pitied the gallant weakness of his conduct, disdained to leave him unsupported. After describing the conflict, he adds, that the king fell pierced with an arrow, and mortally wounded in the head by a bill, within a few paces from the English earl, his antagonist.

The battle is described by one writer <sup>a</sup> as having been most manfully maintained

<sup>a</sup> Chalmers.

on both sides, with victory uncertain, "till the streams of blood ran on either side so abundantly that all the fields and waters were made red with the confluence thereof;" another <sup>a</sup> states, That, on the ground becoming slippery from blood, the soldiers pulled off their boots, and secured a firmer footing by fighting in their hose.

Hall <sup>b</sup> says, "Well known it was by them that fought, and also reported by the prisoners of Scotland, that their king was taken or slain; but his body was not found till the next day, because all the mean people, as well Scots as English, were stripped out of their apparel as they lay on the field; yet, at the last, he was found by the Lord Dacres, who knew him well by his privy tokens, in that same place where the battel of the Earl of Surrey and his first joined together. The King had divers deadly wounds, and in especial one with an arrow, and another with a bill, as appeared when he was naked. After that the body of the King was found, and brought to Berwick, the Earl shewed it to Sir William Scott, his Chancellor, and Sir John Forman, his Serjeant Porter, which knew him at first sight, and made great lamentation. Then was the body embowelled, embalmed, and cered, and seceretly, amongst other stuff, conveyed to Newcastle." Afterwards Hall says, "After this noble victory, th' Erle wrote first to the Queen, which had raised a great power to resist the said King of Scots, of the wyunning of the battayle. for then the body of the King of Scots was not found, and she, yet being at the town of Buckingham, had word the next day after that the King of Scots was slayn, and a part of his coat armour to her sent, for which victory she thanked God; and so the Earl, after the north part was set in quietnes, returned to the Queen with the dead body of the Scottish King, and brought it to Richmond."

This account, in some particulars, is corroborated by a letter<sup>c</sup> from Queen Katharine of Arragon to King Henry VIII., dated 16th Sept., after the battle, wherein she says she sends him a "peece of the King of Scots' cote;" and adds, "my Lord of Surrey, my Henry, wolde fayne knowe your pleasur in buryeng of the King of Scotts body, for he hath writen to me so."

The place of burial of the King of Scots was involved in some mystery, though it is pretty clear that his body was identified, and in the custody of the Earl of Surrey, when he wrote to the Queen.

Aikman <sup>d</sup>, the translator of Buehanan, in a note to that writer's narrative respecting the uncertainty of the King's fall (the English affirming that he was killed in the battle, the Scots asserting the contrary, for that there were many that day clothed

<sup>a</sup> Tytler.

<sup>b</sup> Chronicle, p. 564.

<sup>c</sup> Printed by Sir Henry Ellis, in vol. i. of his first series of Original Letters, p. 88.

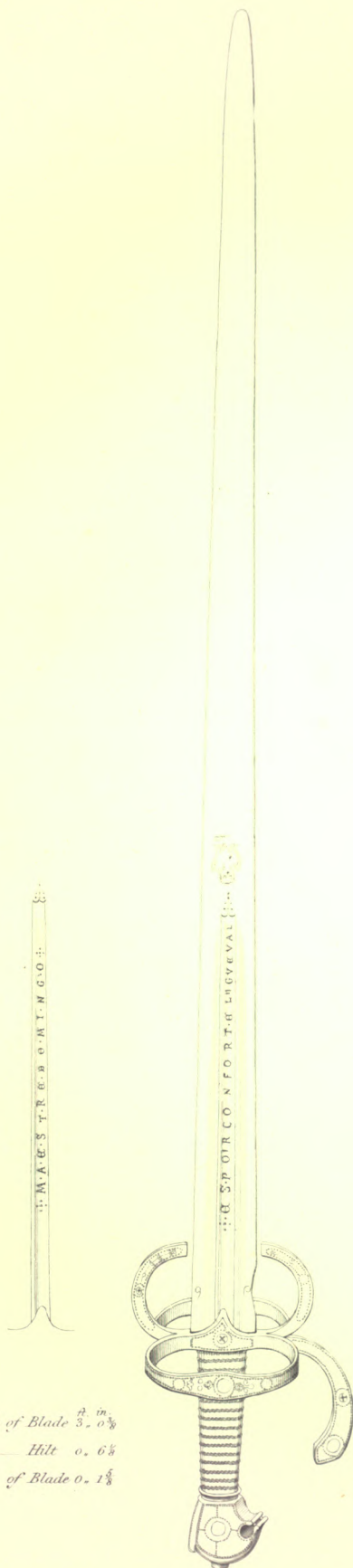
<sup>d</sup> Aikman, 2, 19<sup>b</sup>.

in armour similar to what the King usually wore,) says, "It is now ascertained that his body was found on the field, and sent to England, and that Dacre in a letter to Surrey informs him that he found the body of James, and that it was brought to Berwick;" and then proceeds with the narrative given by Stowe, from which it would appear that the royal remains, after being conveyed to the Monastery of Sheyne, were there regally interred. At a later period, subsequent to the dissolution of that monastery, the head is said to have been severed from the body, removed thence, and treated with great contumely. The authority for this latter statement is extremely dubious; whilst the former is supported by an entry in the Lieger book of Whalley Abbey, upon the testimony of an eye-witness, who saw his sepulchre at Richmond in the same year.<sup>a</sup>

Sir Walter Scott remarks that some reports give a romantic turn to the king's fate; and even allege that after the battle he went on a pilgrimage to merit absolution for the death of his father and the breach of his oath of amity to Henry, and that it was particularly objected to the English that they never could shew the token of the iron belt. They produce, he adds, a better evidence—the Monarch's sword and dagger, which are still preserved in the Heralds' College, London.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Henry Ellis states that, king James the Fourth being under excommunication at the time of his death, it became necessary to have the Pope's permission for his interment in consecrated ground, and quotes from the MS. Vitellius, B. 11. f. 54, the licence of Leo X., dated 29 Nov., 1513, for his interment at St. Paul's, but adds no funeral for him there appears to have taken place.





Length of Blade  $3. 0 \frac{1}{2}$  in.  
D<sup>o</sup> — Hilt  $0. 6 \frac{1}{8}$   
Width of Blade  $0. 1 \frac{1}{8}$



Length of Blade  $1. 3 \frac{1}{2}$  in.  
D<sup>o</sup> — Hilt  $0. 5 \frac{1}{8}$

*Sword and Dagger of King James IV. of Scotland.*

*Preserved in the Collection of Arms, London.*



A P P E N D I X .





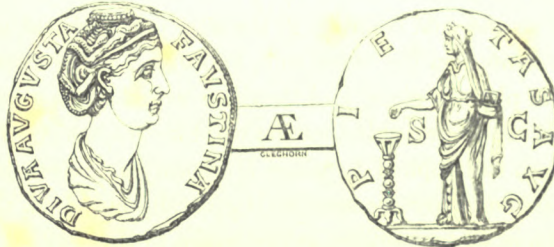
## A P P E N D I X.

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*Letter from John Yonge Akerman, Esq. to Capt. Smyth, Director, illustrative of the Use of the Enamelled Vessel discovered some years ago in one of the Bartlow Tumuli, and engraved in the XXVIth Volume of the Archæologia.*

Lewisham, Jan. 27, 1848.

Feb. 3, 1848. MY DEAR SIR,—On a recent examination of some of the fine large brass Roman coins in the cabinet of Dr. John Lee, I discovered an example which cannot fail to be of the highest interest to the English antiquary, since it illustrates, in a most striking manner, the use of the very beautiful enamelled vessel found in one of the Bartlow tumuli, and engraved in the Archæologia.<sup>a</sup> The coin is of Faustina the elder, and is in such perfect preservation that no doubt whatever can be entertained of the signification of the reverse type, which represents a



female figure in the act of offering a sacrifice of perfumes. In the left hand of the figure is a vessel of globose shape, with a rectangular handle, precisely similar to that found in the Bartlow tumulus. The resemblance will be seen by a glance at the drawings which accompany this note. The first is from the large brass coin in question, and the other two from gold coins in the collection of the British Museum; and they all incontestably prove the identity of the object held in the left hand of the figure with the beautiful relic which, to the great regret of the antiquarian world, no longer exists.



<sup>a</sup> Vol. XXVI. p. 310.

While the other objects discovered in the Bartlow tumuli were essentially Roman in character, the enamelled vessel presented a novelty to the student of Roman antiquities, and led some to conjecture that its workmanship was of different origin. Inclining to this belief myself at the time of its discovery, I may be permitted to express an opinion that the representations on the coins, here cited, furnish no evidence whatever to the contrary, for objects of such costly manufacture would not be the less valued by the Romans because they were brought from foreign countries, while, on the other hand, the most rare and precious vessels would be used in the performance of the most imposing ceremonies, and especially on the solemn occasion of interment.

On the brass coin the action of the right hand of the figure shews that she is dropping on to the *acerra*, or temporary altar, incense taken from the vessel held in her left. Although nothing appears in the right hand on this coin, yet on the Aureus No. 2 we are left in no doubt, for here, between the thumb and finger of the right hand, is a small globule, or fragment, which is about to be dropped on the altar before which the figure stands.

Perfumes, according to Pliny, were not at one time used by the Romans in sacrifices, but they were adopted at a later period, and in his time were considered as proper offerings to the manes of the dead.<sup>a</sup> We have, therefore, the best reasons for concluding that the enamelled vessel discovered in the Bartlow tumulus, was consecrated to the holding of incense used at the funeral of the individual whose ashes were discovered in the bustum, and, being thus used, was deposited as a precious relic with the remains.

It will be observed that on the gold coin, fig. 2, the altar is cylindrical, and ornamented with a garland; but on that represented on the brass coin, and in fig. 3, the altar is of slight figure, as if adapted for removal from place to place, and therefore especially applicable to the ceremonies observed at interments. It seems probable that the word *acerra*, which originally signified a box or pyx for holding perfumes, was applied to these temporary or moveable altars on which perfumes were burnt; hence *ara* and *acerra* became, as is generally supposed, altogether synonymous, though the word *acerra* was, in all probability, at first given to those altars only on which incense was offered. Thus Festus says, "*Acerra; ara quæ ante mortuum poni solebat, in qua odores incendebantur;*" and Pollux, "*Ara; acerra, focus, vel vesta, sic enim a nonnullis nominatur.*" These slight altars, by their shape, were well adapted for the holding of a few live embers, which were sufficient to consume the odoriferous gums and unguents thrown upon them.

It is worthy of remark, that this peculiarly shaped vessel appears for the first time on the coins of the Antonine family, and that on those of Hadrian and of Ælius the female figure holds an *acerra* of a totally different shape, namely, that of a cylindrical box, which is held up as if small and light, while that of the later period is held in a totally different manner, and with apparent care.

A coin of Hadrian, discovered in one of the Bartlow tumuli, proved that the interment was not earlier than the reign of that emperor; while those of which drawings accompany this note, seem to point to the reign of Antoninus Pius, or that of his immediate successors, as the period of the raising of these tumuli. Be this as it may, the identity of the vessel held by the figure

<sup>a</sup> Lib. xiii. c. 1.



with the enamelled vase can scarcely be questioned. I need not remark that this is one of the many illustrations of ancient manners to be found in the series of Roman coins alone, nor dilate on the absolute necessity of their study by those who would acquire a sound knowledge of the spirit of antiquity.

I am, my dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.

Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N., Dir.S.A.

*On two Inscriptions in the Choir of the Capuchin Convent at Seville; in a Letter from the President to Sir H. Ellis, Sec. S. A.*

Grosvenor Place, February, 1848.

30th March, 1848. MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—The Capuchin Convent at Seville was well known to every lover of art who visited that city, as containing several of the master-pieces of Murillo. At present, however, as we learn from Mr. Ford and Count Raczynski's descriptions, these pictures have been removed to the newly-founded Museum, while the convent itself has been dismantled, and in a great measure destroyed. Such a change has lately induced me to refer to some slight notes which I took of it in its former state, when travelling in Spain during the years 1827 and 1828. I find that there were then two inscriptions, now probably effaced, in the chapel choir, which may be thought not undeserving of notice as a sample of monastic customs, and as a proof of the taste for rhyme in the Latinity of the middle ages. That taste, in its less imperfect form, showed itself, as here with the first inscription, in *Leonine* verses; but sometimes, as here with the second inscription, only in rude lines, without any attempt at classic metre. These lines were evidently designed to reprove the monks for irregularity in their attendance on Divine Service.

On the one side there stood—

ANGELUS IN CHORO.

SCRIBO PRAESENTES,  
CANTANTES, ATQUE LEGENTES,  
UT SIC SINT DIGNI  
SACRI SPIRAMINIS IGNI.

On the other side—

DIABOLUS IN CHORO.

HIC SUM MISSUS  
CUM POENA SCRIBERE JUSSUS  
ABSENTES, NON CANTANTES,  
TARDE VENIENTES,  
ET CITO RECEDENTES.



So far as I am aware, these lines have not been transcribed or publicly noticed before in any accounts of Seville, and I therefore take the liberty to lay them before the Society of Antiquaries. I am not able, however, even to conjecture, what other Members of the Society more deeply versed than I am in ecclesiastical antiquities could perhaps decide, whether or not Latin inscriptions of a similar import were commonly found in the choirs of monasteries either in Spain or in other countries. If they were, such a fact might, so far as it goes, have a tendency to disprove the charge of habitual ignorance of Latin, which we see in various quarters urged against the monks of former times; for, since it is clear that these admonitions were intended to apply to the less learned or more worldly brethren, it can scarcely be supposed that they would be conveyed in any language not recognised at that period as familiar to them all.

Believe me, my dear Sir Henry,

Very faithfully yours,

MAHON.

*Seal of William Neville, Lord Fauconberg.*

Nov. 23, 1848. Charles Weld, Esq., Assistant Secretary of the Royal Society, exhibited by the hands of John Yonge Akerman, Esq., the Original Matrix, with an Impression, of the Seal of William Neville, Lord Fauconberg.



Lord Fauconberg was the third son of Richard Neville, first Earl of Westmerland, by Joan his wife, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by Katharine Swinford. William married Joan, daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Fauconberg (who died in 1376), and was summoned to Parliament in right of his wife from 1429 to 1461, when he was created Earl of Kent. He had been made Knight of the Garter in 1439. He died in the third of Edward IV. without male issue. His earldom of Kent became extinct, and the barony of Fauconberg fell into abeyance between his three daughters and co-heirs. He was buried in the priory of Gisborough in Yorkshire.

At a subsequent meeting of the Society, Jan. 18, 1849, Mr. Weld presented the Matrix of this Seal to the Society's Museum.







*Gold Armilla found in 1847, near Wendover, Bucks.*

*Presented to the British Museum by Robert Fox Esq<sup>re</sup>*

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1851.*

*J. Baire sc.*

*Account of the Discovery of an Armilla of pure Gold, in clearing a Coppice near Wendover in Buckinghamshire in 1847, in a Letter from Albert Way, Esq. to Sir Henry Ellis, Secretary.*

Westbourne Street, Hyde Park, 14th Nov. 1848.

NOV. 23, 1848. DEAR SIR HENRY,—A beautiful ancient ornament (Plate XV.) has been discovered during the last year in Buckinghamshire, which will be submitted to the inspection of the Society of Antiquaries this evening by permission of Mr. Robert Fox, on whose estates near Wendover this interesting relic was found. Mr. Fox informs me that it was turned up by the plough, in a piece of ground which had been covered with wood until 1845, when it was cleared and converted into arable.

The wood was called the Rideings Coppice, and the field bears the name of the Riddings. There is no tumulus to be seen near the spot, nor any tradition or indication of ancient habitation.

The ornament, which some have assigned to the early British period, is an armilla of pure gold, weighing four ounces twelve pennyweights, the intrinsic value being about twenty pounds. It is formed of two round bars or wires of gold of considerable thickness, twisted together very compactly, and of two small wires, each likewise twisted, and twined between the large wires, the entire four forming a torc or compact cord of a very curious nature, and highly ornamental. The four wires are united together at the extremities of this torc-armilla, which appear at some period to have been cut, so that the original termination or fastening of the ornament may be a matter of question. These extremities are now obtusely pointed, and evidently have been cut and filed, possibly for the purpose of obtaining a sample of the gold for assay.

The locality where this curious relic was found by the plough is on the brow of a hill, on the west side of the valley of the Chiltern range of hills, in which Wendover is situate. Many vestiges of ancient occupation are to be traced in this part of Buckinghamshire, although none may occur immediately adjacent to the place of discovery on Mr. Fox's estate. That gentleman has suggested to me, and the notion appears well deserving of consideration, that a great conflict is supposed to have occurred not far from the spot between the forces of the Britons and the Romans, when one of the sons of Cunobelin was slain.

Great Kimble, about three miles distant, is supposed to have received its name from that British chief, and ancient earthworks are pointed out termed Belinus' Castle. The conjecture seems quite admissible that this ornament may have been worn by some British chieftain who took refuge in the woods of the Wendover Dean, in the retreat from the discomfiture of the Britons on the occasion in question.

The armilla is, I think, certainly not of Roman character; it belongs to the curious class of ornaments, chiefly of gold, of the twisted type, which most antiquaries seem to concur in regarding as Celtic. These torc-ornaments vary much both in the fashion of the twist and in dimensions, ranging from the size of the splendid collar found in Staffordshire, exhibited to the Society by her most gracious Majesty, to the torc-rings of the size of finger-rings. Of this last I had, on a former occasion, the pleasure of bringing before the notice of the Society two highly curious examples, one from Dr. Mantell's collection found in Sussex, the other from Suffolk, now in Mr. Whincopp's museum.

Some persons have, however, found an analogy between the armilla exhibited by Mr. Fox, and the silver ornaments found at Cuerdale; but, although many of those ornaments are fashioned in the form of cords, and are analagous to the torques of an earlier age, it must be observed that ornaments of gold, which may be assigned to the Anglo-Saxon age, are very rare, silver having been apparently more generally employed at that period.

On the other hand, the ornaments which are generally assigned to the earlier age are very commonly of gold.

In the neighbouring parts of England, at no great distance from the locality where the armilla communicated by Mr. Fox was turned up by the plough, a few specimens of ancient workmanship have been found, which may deserve notice. The torc-ornament, found at St. Alban's about the year 1744, deserves especial attention, because it appears to have closely resembled the armilla now laid before the Society, both in dimensions and general appearance, with the exception that it seems to have consisted of two large wires only twined together, and without the additional enrichment of the smaller intervening threads. The terminations, at the opening of this armlet, were perfect, and in the form, apparently, of two little acorn-shaped buttons, not very distinctly represented in the engraving, which may be seen in Gough's edition of Camden's Britannia. This ornament of gold is described as a *fibula*, but it is obvious from its general fashion and weight, namely, twenty guineas,—almost precisely the same as the weight of the armilla before the Society,—that this was also an armlet, and almost the counterpart of the one now brought to light. I am not aware whether the St. Alban's specimen still exists; it was found on the grounds of Caleb Lomax, Esq. of St. Alban's.

In the same county of Herts, adjacent to the district where Wendover is situate, two other armillæ of gold were found, and exhibited to the Society in 1816, by Mr. Charles Stokes, F.S.A. These, however, were of less massive dimension, weighing rather more than two ounces each. Their general form is not described in the brief notice given in the *Archæologia*, and it is to be regretted that no figure of these curious objects was preserved. It is remarkable that these, as likewise the armilla belonging to Mr. Fox, were discovered in woodland, not long previously cleared for cultivation.

The fashion of the armlets of the Roman age is well illustrated by the curious examples found about 1827, at Castlethorpe, in Buckinghamshire, with coins of Nero, Vespasian, Antoninus Pius, and other emperors. They are of considerable breadth, terminating in what seems to represent the head of a serpent, or some animal not distinctly characterised. These remarkable armillæ have been represented in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, and are very valuable examples of the Roman age. Similar ornaments have been found in the canton of Vaud, and are figured in the *Transactions of the Antiquaries of Zurich*.

I must remark that the conjecture, which would assign Mr. Fox's armilla to the later age, may seem to be corroborated by comparison with the fine armlet found with a hoard of Eastern moneys, and figured in the annals of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries for the years 1842-43. The fashion of this armlet, discovered with objects precisely similar to those found in the Cuerdale hoard in our own country, bears very close resemblance to Mr. Fox's armlet, the work being in a slight degree more elaborate, and each smaller cord formed of *two* threads instead of a simple single twist.



It is in Ireland that the greatest variety of ornaments of the torc type, and formed of gold, have been found. A careful comparison of specimens found in England with these Irish antiquities would be very desirable; the want of a national collection for such purposes of comparison is constantly to be felt in researches of this nature. I am much gratified to be permitted by Mr Fox to state that it is his generous intention to deposit the armilla found upon his estate in the British Museum as a contribution, and a very valuable one, towards the British series. I hope that so laudable an example may stimulate other possessors of antiquities to bestow them in like manner for this national purpose.

I remain, dear Sir Henry, faithfully yours,

ALBERT WAY.

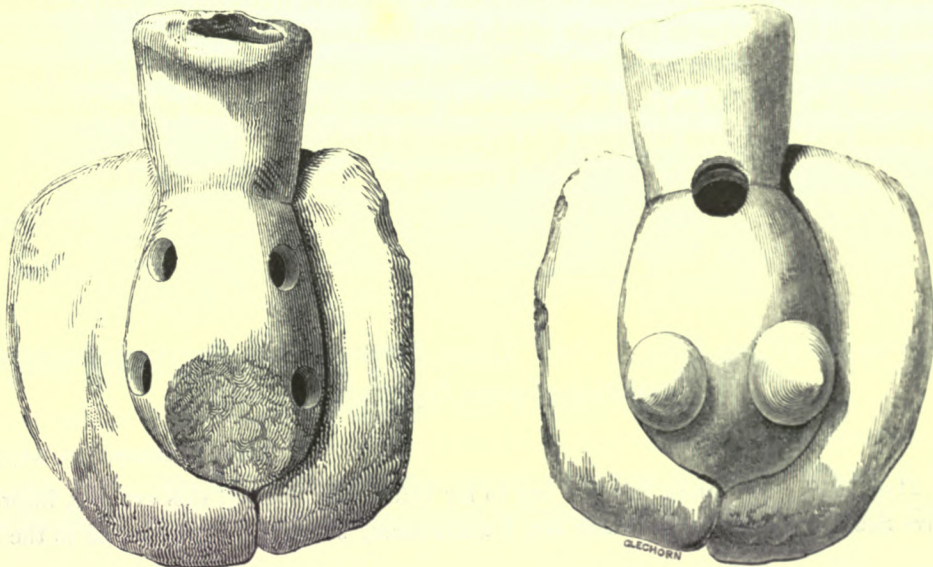
Sir Henry Ellis, Sec. Soc. Ant. &c. &c.

*Brass to the Memory of Margaret Erneley.*

Feb. 22, 1849. Hugh Welch Diamond, Esq., presented to the Society's Museum an effigy and a plate in brass to the memory of Margaret, wife of Sir John Erneley, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, daughter of Edward Hawtrey, Esq., who died the 18th day of August, 1518.

*Communication from Lewis H. J. Tonna, Esq., to Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N., Director, accompanying the Exhibition of an ancient Musical Instrument of Terra Cotta.*

May 10, 1849. In the year 1833 Commander Copeland, R.N., presented to the United Service Institution a collection of Greek Pottery from the islands of Milos and Ægina,—most of the Vases and other articles being labelled with the name of one or other of these islands. Amongst these vessels I found a small article without any label, of which the accompanying is a rough sketch, and, after some examination and the removal of some indurated sand, I ascertained



that it was a Musical Instrument; and, after careful washing I was able to produce from it sounds as loud as those of a flageolet, and resembling them in quality.

It is difficult to describe the shape of the instrument. By some it has been compared to a tortoise; by others to a bird. Its length is two inches, breadth an inch and half. The material is a very hard-baked earth.

On the upper surface there are four stops, and a vent on the under side on which also there are two small bosses. Finding that I was possessed of a musical instrument of early Greek manufacture, and producing its correct tones at this distance of time—a circumstance which must be rare, if not unprecedented, owing to the perishable materials of which such instruments were usually constructed—I turned my attention with no small interest to its scale. Closing all the stops I found that the key-note was E flat; opening them all, the note is D, or the seventh; by closing two of the holes, either the upper or the lower, we have B flat, the fifth; and by opening one hole only we have G, *the major third*.

These important intervals are all so clear and so distinct, that they must have been produced intentionally by the maker; the intermediate notes are more uncertain, but may readily be produced by proper regulation of the breath. The fixed notes of the scale are these:—



I am quite aware that the major third was not recognised by the ancient writers; yet here I find it distinctly produced. I admit, however, that it may be the διτονον, or double major tone, which, differing by an interval expressed by the ratio of  $\frac{80}{81}$ , would escape detection by the ear; but from its position in the scale, followed by the fifth and seventh, I can hardly doubt that, whether the result of theory or ear, it is the true major third.

I am confirmed in this by the absence of the interval of the fourth, which, theoretically, one would have expected to find; a fourth may indeed be produced, but with difficulty, and certainly is not one of the fixed notes in the scale of this little instrument.

Mr. Crofton Croker has favoured me by allowing me to examine a clay bird in his possession, which evidently is intended to produce modulated sounds; but the neck of the bird is unfortunately choked up, and I have not been able to make it speak.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

LEWIS H. J. TONNA.

*Letter from Sir Henry Ellis to John Yonge Akerman, Esq. Secretary, accompanying the Exhibition of some Impressions of Seals.*

British Museum, June 14, 1849.

June 21st, 1849. MY DEAR SIR,—I beg to lay before our Society, this evening, impressions from Five Seals, the matrices of which are, I understand, shortly to be presented to the British



Museum by Lady Fellowes. These impressions have been obligingly taken for me by Mr. John Doubleday. Four are English; the fifth is a foreign seal.

The first, circular in form, of the size of a crown piece, is the Seal of the Mayoralty of the City of Lincoln. It represents the figure of the Virgin Mary, bearing the infant Jesus in her arms, within a gothic canopied doorway, up each side of which a lion is represented ramping, circumscribed, SIGILLUM . MAIORATUS . LINCOLNIE.

The second is a Seal similar in shape, but of rather larger diameter. The area bearing a lozenge charged with the old arms of England (three lions), surrounded by four swords. The inscription within the circle, S . DNI . EDWARDI . REGIS . ANGL . IN . PORTV . LONDONIARVM. The Seal of the Port of London.

The third is, perhaps, the most curious of these seals; of large size, and oval. The area filled with a triple gothic canopy of three compartments; the centre one containing the figure of the Virgin crowned, holding her infant with the right arm, while the left hand supports a sceptre. St. Peter and St. Paul appear in the right and left compartments; and beneath three shields; on one a lion rampant, the second bears a tree, and the third a cross fleury between four martlets. The last was the coat of arms of the abbey of Abingdon in Berkshire. The inscription round, in what is called the black letter, reads, .SIGILLV DNI JOHIS ABBATIS ABENDONIE . S. D. N. PAPE . COMMISSARIJ. The person to whom this seal refers, I conceive, was John Sante, who received the temporalities of this monastery, Dec. 8th, 1469. He was a doctor in divinity, and ambassador at the court of Rome in the reigns of Edward the Fourth and Henry the Seventh. He died January the 6th, 1495.

The fourth is an impression from the seal of Thomas Dove, Bishop of Peterborough, bearing the date of 1601. SIGILLVM THOMÆ DOVE EPISCOPI PETRIBVRG . 1601.

The fifth Seal, probably of the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, is circular, and of considerable size. It gives a rather rude and an un-perspective representation of the entrance into a fortified town. An outer circle bears the inscription, SIGILLVM LIBERE CIVITATIS . TVICEN, and in a smaller type, within the circle, but over the representation of the town, we have Q' E (that is, *Quæ est*) ARCHIEPI . COLON.

It is the seal of Deutz, or Duytz, opposite to Cologne, as regards the Rhine; which in Latin is written Duitium, and Tuitium.

Believe me, my dear Sir, ever truly yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

J. Y. Akerman, Esq.

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*Letter from Sir Henry Ellis to J. Y. Akerman, Esq. accompanying Transcripts of two Letters of Sir Thomas Elyot.*

British Museum, Nov. 29th, 1849.

Dec. 6th, 1849. MY DEAR SIR,—In the second volume of my earliest Series of Original Letters illustrative of English History, published in 1824, I printed one from Sir Thomas Elyot



to Secretary Cromwell, in which Sir Thomas gave an interesting, and I may say an eloquent narrative of his progress in life. The original is preserved among the Cottonian manuscripts.

From the same source I now present our Society with transcripts of two other letters from Sir Thomas Elyot to Cromwell. One, like that which I printed, to Cromwell when Secretary of State, offering to find and give up all the books in his possession at his different houses which, under a then recent proclamation from the King, had been denounced as seditious; the other to Cromwell as Lord Privy Seal, in further assurance of Sir Thomas Elyot's Protestant principles. I need hardly mention that Sir Thomas Elyot was one of the most elegant writers of Henry the Eighth's time. He died in 1546.

Believe me, my dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

J. Y. Akerman, Esq.

I.

*Sir Thomas Elyot to Lord Cromwell, offering to deliver up his Books.*

[Cotton MS. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 212\*. Orig.]

"Mr. Secretary, in my right humble maner I have me recomended unto you. Sir, all beit that it were my duetie to awayte on you, desyryng to be perfectly instructed in the effectuall understanding of the Kinges moste graciouse pleasure contayned in his grace's proclamacion concerning sediciouse bookes.

"Now, for as moche as I have ben very sikk, and yet am not entierly recovered, I am constrained to importune you with theise my homely lettres, which, consydering my necessitie and syncere meaning, I trust will not be fastidiouse unto you, whome I have allway accompted one of my chosen frendes, for the similitude of our studies, which undoubtidly is the moste perfect fundacion of amitie.

"Sir, as ye knowe, I have ben ever desyrouse to reade many bookes, specially concerning humanitie and morall phylosophy, and therefore of suche studies I have a competent numbere. But concerning holy scripture I have very fewe, for in questionistes I never delyted; unsavery gloses and commentes I ever abhorred; the bostars and advauntars of the pompouse authoritie of the Busshop of Rome I never esteemyd. But after that by moche and seriouse reading I hadd apprehendid a jugement or estimacion of thinges, I didd anon smell oute their corrupt affections, and beheelde with sorowfull eyes the sondry abusions of their authorities, adorned with a licencious and dissolute forme of lyving, of the which, as well in them as in the universall state of the clergy, I have oftentimes wissshed a necessary reformation; whereof hath happed no litle contencion betwixt me and suche persones as ye have thought that I have specially favored, even as ye allso didd, for some laudable qualities which we supposid to be in them. But neither they mowght persuade me to approve that which both faith and my raison condemned, nor I mowght dissuade them from the excusing of that which all the worlde abhorred, which obstinacy of bothe partes relentid the grete affection betwene us and withdrew oure familiar repayre. As touching suche bookes as be now prohibited, contayning the Busshop of Romes authoritie, some in deede I have joyned with diverse other workes in one grete volume, or twoo at the moste, which I

never founde laysor to reade. Notwithstanding, if it be the Kinges pleasure and yours that I shall bringe or sende theim, I will do it right gladly. As for the warkes of John Fisshar I never hadd any of them to my knowlege, except one litle sermone, which aboute eight or nyne yeres passid was translatid into Latine by Mr. Pace, and for that cause I bowght it more than for the author or mater, but where it is I am not sure, for in goode faithe I never redd it but ones sens I bowght it.

“Finally, if your pleasure be to have that and the other, for as moche as my bookes be in sondry houses of myne owne and farre asonder, I hartily pray you that I may have convenient respyte to repayre thither after my present recovery, and as I wold that Godd sholde helpe me I will make diligent sereche, and suche as I shall finde, saving any thinge agaynst the Kinges pleasure, I will putt them in redyness either to bee browght to you, or to be cutt oute of the volume wherein they be joyned with other, as ye shall advyse me, after that I have certified to you the titles of theim. Wherefore, Sir, I hartily beseeche you for the syncere love that I have towards you, to advertyse me playnly (ye lakking laisor to write) either by Mr. Petre Vanes, or Mr. Augustine, thei writing, what your counsaile and advise is herein, which to my power I will folow. And goode Mr. Secretary, consyder that from the tyme of our first acquayntance, which began of a mutuall benevolence, ye never knew in me froward opinion or dissimulacion; perchaunce naturall sympleitie not discretely ordred mowght cause men suspect that I favored hypocrysye, supersticion, and vanitie. Notwithstanding, if ye mowght see my thoughtes as Godd doeth, ye shold finde a reformer of those thynges and not a favorar if I mowght that I wold, and that I desire no less that my Sovereigne Lorde sholde prosper and be exaltid in honor than any servaunt that he hath as Christ knowith, who send to you abundaunce of his grace with longe lif. Writen at Comb. on the vigil of Saint Thomas.

Yours, unfaynedly, Tho. Elyot, K.”

## 2.

*Sir Thomas Elyot to the Lord Privy Seal: thanks him for recommending him to the King; affirms his Protestant Principles; and begs for some of the dissolved lands, of which he offers Cromwell the first year's rent.*

[MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 220\*.—*Orig.*]

“My moste speciall goode Lorde, Where as by your contynuall exercise in waighty affaires, also frequent access of sutars unto yo<sup>r</sup> goode lordship, I could not fynde oportunitie to gyve to your lordship due and convenyent thanks for yo<sup>r</sup> honorable and gentill report to the King's Maiesty on Wenysday last passid in my favor, I am now constrayned to supply with my penne my sayde duety. Offryng unto your lordship all harty love and servyce that a powre man may ow and beare to his goode lorde and approved frende, which allthowgh hability lakking in me I can not expresse by any benefyte, yo<sup>r</sup> wisdom notwithstanding (which I have allway honoured and trustid) will, I doubt not, accept my goode intent, being I thank Godd ever syncere and without flattery or ill dissimulacion. I wisshing unto yo<sup>r</sup> lordship the honorable desyres of yo<sup>r</sup> hart with the contynuall favor of Godd and of your Prynce. My lorde, for as moche as I suppose

that the Kinges moste geniall comunicacion with me, and allso his moste comfortable report unto the lordes of me, proceded of yo<sup>r</sup> afore remembred recommendacions, I am animate to importune your good lordship with moste harty desyres to contynue my goode lorde in augmenting the King's goode estimacion of me. Wherof I promyse you before Godd your lordship shall never have cause to repent. And when I perceyve that ye suspect that I savor not truely holy Scriptur, I wold Godd that the King and you mowght see the moste secrete thoughtes of my hart. Surely ye shold than perceyve that, the Ordre of Charity sauyd, I have in as moche detestacion as any man lyving all vayne supersticions, superfluouse ceremonyes, sklaunderouse joughlyng, countrefaite mirakles, arrogant usurpations of men callid spirituall, and masking religious, and all other abusions of Christes holy doctrine and lawes. And as moche I enjoy at the Kinges godly proceeding to the due reformation of the sayde enormities as any his Graces powre subject lyving. I therefor beseeche yo<sup>r</sup> goode lordship now to lay a part the remembraunce of the amity betwene me and sir Thomas More, which was but *usque ad aras*, as is the proverb, consydering that I was never so moeh addiet unto hym as I was unto truthe and fidelity toward my soueraigne lorde, as Godd is my Juge. And where my speciall trust and onely expectacion is to be holpen by the meanes of your lordship, and naturall shamefastness more raigeth in me than is necessary, so that I wold not prese to the Kings Majesty withoute your lordshippes assistence unto whom I have sundry tymes declarid myn indigence, and whereof it hath hapned. I therefor moste humbly desyre you, my speciall goode lorde, so to bryng me into the Kings moste noble remembrance that of his moste bounteouse liberality it may like his Highnesse to reward me with some convenyent porcion of his suppressed landes, whereby I may be able to contynue my life according to that honest degree wherunto His Grace hath callid me. And that your lordship forgete not that neither of his Grace nor of any other persone I have fee, office, pencion, or ferme, nor have any maner of lucre or advantage besydes the revenues of my pour land, which are but small, and no more than I may therewith mayntayne my pour house. And if by yo<sup>r</sup> lordshippes meanes I may achieve goode effect of my sute, your lordship shall not fynde me ingrate. And what so ever porcion of land that I shall attayne by the Kings gift, I promyse to give to your lordship the first yeres frutes with myn assurid and faithful hart and servyee. This lettre I have writen bycause that I herd that your lordship went to the Court. And as for my first sute I shall at yo<sup>r</sup> lordships better laysor recontynue it, trusting allso in yo<sup>r</sup> lordshippes favor therin. Writen at my house by Smythfield this Moneday.

Y<sup>rs</sup> moste bounden, TH. ELYOT, K."

To my speciall goode Lorde  
My Lord Pryvy Seale.

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*Observations upon a presumed Nuptial Ring of Mary Queen of Scots ; in a Letter to the President, from Sir Henry Ellis, Secretary.*

British Museum, January 3, 1850.

Jan. 3, 1850. MY LORD,—Early in the last Session of our Society, when the Seal-Ring which bore the Arms of Mary Queen of Scots was exhibited by Mr. Green, I felt convinced that diligent



inquiry would throw more light upon its history than Mr. Green possessed, and probably would identify it either as an affiancing, or what was still more probable, as a bridal ring of the unhappy Queen. It was evidently made for a female finger. In my own belief I took it for what it certainly now appears to have been ; her nuptial ring.

In explaining the ground of this opinion it will not be beside my purpose to detail the several forms in which, at different periods of Mary's reign, she carried the Scottish Arms.

From 1542 to 1558 Mary Queen of Scots bore the Arms of Scotland alone ; the lion within the tressure. On her marriage with Francis the Dauphin of France in 1558, she bore quarterly of France and Dauphiné impaling Scotland.

In the same year, after the accession of Elizabeth to the English throne, Henry the Second of France caused his son and Mary to assume the titles of King and Queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and to take the Arms of England. This was done by them ; and at the marriage of Elizabeth of France with Philip II. the Dauphin and Mary bore on their caroches, their household furniture, and their heralds' tabards, the Arms in this manner, Quarterly, 1 and 4, also quarterly of France and Dauphiny ; 2 and 3 Scotland. On an escutcheon of pretence France and England quarterly. The whole dimidiated by, Quarterly 1 and 4 Scotland ; 2 and 3 France and England quarterly.

This came to the knowledge of and gave offence to Elizabeth and Burghley ; and Burghley obtained a copy of the Arms so used, which copy is now in the British Museum. It is endorsed by Burghley, "False Armes of Scotl. Fr. Engl. Julii, 1559."

The following doggrel lines are underneath the Arms :

"The Armes of Marie Quene Dolphines of France  
The nobillest Ladie in earth for till advance  
Off Scotland Quene, and of Ingland also,  
Off Ireland als God haith providit so."

(MS. Cotton. Calig. B. x. fol. 13.)

The offence, it is clear, was in the escutcheon, which was afterwards discarded by Francis and Mary on their accession to the throne of France upon the death of Henry II.

As Queen-Consort of France, Mary bore France and Scotland quarterly.

After the death of Francis, in Dec. 1560, as Queen Dowager of France, she bore, France dimidiated by the whole Coat of Scotland, a form which she continued until her marriage in 1565 with Darnley, when she discarded France, and bore her own Coat of Scotland alone.

The Ring now shown is probably the earliest instance of this,



and she continued the practice until her death.



In the Library of the British Museum, however, among the books which formerly belonged to King George the Third, there is a small folio entitled "The Actis and Constitutiounis of the Realme of Scotland maid in Parliamentis haldin be the rycht excellent, hie and mychtie Princeis Kingis James the First, Secund, Thrid, Feird, Fyft, and in tyme of Marie now Queene of Scottis, viseit, correctit, and extractit furth of the Registers be the Lordis depute be hir Maiesteis speciall Commissione theirto. Anno Do. 1566." Below this title is a wood-cut of the Scottish Arms exactly as upon the Ring, except that instead of M. R. upon small labels above the unicorns' heads, are the words MARIA REGINA. The cover of this book has the same Arms in gold and colours as in the enamel of the Ring; and there can be little doubt, from its extreme elegance and cost in the binding, that this was the identical copy of the Scottish Statutes presented to the Queen at the time. The Arms are on both sides of the book. It was formerly in the possession of Mr. John Ratcliffe, a memorable collector of black-letter, at the sale of whose library in 1776 it was purchased for that of King George the Third.

I now come to the Monogram within the Ring.



That the Ring was intended as a Seal-Ring cannot be doubted; and in the hope of finding some letter bearing its impression, after fruitlessly examining our own collections in the British Museum, I repaired to the State Paper Office, where, with the kind assistance of Mr. Lechmere and Mr. Lemon, I was allowed to turn over the Scottish Correspondence, but with as little profit, as far as the Seals to Letters were concerned, as I had found in the Museum.

At last, however, we fell upon a letter which I think I may say amazed our curiosity. It presented the Monogram which ornaments the underpart of Mr. Green's Ring within the hoop, in the hand-writing of Mary Queen of Scots herself.

The letter is in French, entirely in Mary's hand, and has been printed by Prince Alexander Labanoff, who, being unaware of the riddle contained in the flourished Cypher which follows her signature, passed it without notice.

The following is a translation of the letter, accompanied by a fac-simile Tracing of the Signature and its attendant Cypher.

"Madam my good Sister, the wish which I have to omit nothing that could testify to you how much I desire not to be distant from your good favour, or to give you occasion to suspect me from my actions to be less attached to you than, my good Sister, I am, does not permit me to defer longer the sending to you the bearer, Master of my Requests, to inform you further of my good will to embrace all means which are reasonable, no to give you occasion to be to me other than you have been hitherto; and relying on the sufficiency of the bearer, I will kiss your

hands, praying God that he will keep you, Madam my good sister, in health, and a happy and long life. From St. John's Town, this 15th of June.

"Your very affectionate and faithful  
good Sister and Cousin,

MARIE R.

"To the Queen of England,  
Madam my good Sister  
and Cousin."

The letter is indorsed,

"Q. of Scotts to  
the Q. Ma<sup>ty</sup>

by Mr. John Hay."

And by Lord Burghley, "15 Junij,  
1565."

Here is the Tracing of the Signature and Cypher obligingly supplied to me by Mr. Lemon.

*Votre tres affectionnee & fidele  
bonne sœur & cousine MARIE R.*

The Monogram both here and within the hoop of Mr. Green's ring is identical; and is clearly formed of the letters M and A.

The comparison of the two gives countenance to the opinion that the written Monogram was intended for Elizabeth and Burghley to study; the subsequent creation of the title of Duke of Albany in Lord Darnley ultimately opening their eyes to the enigma.

It will not be inappropriate to mention here the harsh and uncourtly manner in which Elizabeth had caused Mary to be traduced.

The instructions to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, dated 24th April, 1565, partly intended "to procure the sayd Queen to be content to accept the Earl of Leicestre, or some such other forreyn prince as shall be agreable to her honor:" at all events if he found it a desperate and impossible purpose to dissolve the intention of the marriage, to offer that her title should be proclaimed next heir if she had the Earl of Leicester.

He was instructed then to mention the rumours and unseemly reports that had been spread.

"And when you shall see it convenient to declare what the rumors ar, yow may declare how it is reported by the L. Darly's frends, that she hath so far proceded in love of the Lord Darlye, as he being sick of the mezells, which is an infectiouse disease, she cold not be perswaded to tarry from hym, but attended uppon hym with as much dilligence and care as any cold. Ye, and that she so much desyred to procede in marriadg with hym as, if others had not bene scrupoloss and fearfull to assist the same, she had bene affyed to him, with sundry such fond tales, to signefy hir earnest affection towards hym."



Lyddyngton had denied the truth of these reports; but still Elizabeth repeated them.

On the 18th of June 1565, previous to the arrival of Mary's letter, Elizabeth had herself written to her to say, that for divers causes she had sent her express commandment to the Earl of Lenox and his eldest son Henry Lord Darnley, being her subjects, to make their return without delay into this her realm of England.

That the conjectured explanation of Queen Mary's Monogram being sent as an enigma to Queen Elizabeth is no mere hypothesis, will, I think, appear from the circumstance that Randolph, in a letter to Lord Burghley, of *21st July*, says, "Though in the banes he be titled Duke of Albanie, I here nothyng of his creation." Douglas's Peerage gives the day preceding the date of this letter, the 20th of July, as that of Darnley's advancement to the dukedom. The Cypher in reality appears to have communicated Mary's concealed intention on June 15th.

Randolph, whose letter is above quoted, was in correspondence with Queen Elizabeth herself as well as with her Minister. As early as the 16th of July, he addressed the following letter to his Sovereign, the original of which is in the State Paper Office, announcing a private marriage of Queen Mary twelve days previous to the public ceremony.

The following is a transcript of it:—

"May it please your Majestie,

"In a matter whear of I had no greate certeyntie, I wrote to Sir Nicolas Throkmorton as then I was informed, desyeringe him to let your Majestie knowe the same, which now I have tried that then it was false, but now truste that I may write it with better assurance.

"Vpon Mundaye laste, the ix of this instant, this Q. was married secretlie in her own palace to the L. Darlie, not above vii persons present, and wente that daye to their bedde to the L. Seton's howse. This is knowne by one of the prestes that were present at the masse. If this be trewe, your Ma<sup>tie</sup> seethe howe her promes is kepte; and by this your Ma<sup>tie</sup> may measure the reste of her doynges, and unfaynedlie I do believe that your Majestie shall finde mo fayer wordes then good meaninge.

"I will not trouble your Majestie with the answer of that whiche laste I receaved from your Highenes, but have written the same to Mr. Secretarie, and also what is desyered at your Maties handes by suche here as are moste at your Maties devotion, which I dowte not but shall greatlie tend to the honour of God, and your Maties renoume for ever.

"At Edenbourge the xvj Julie, 1565.

"Your Maties moste humble and

obedient Servant,

"To the Quen's Ma<sup>tie</sup>  
my Souereigne."

THO. RANDOLPHE."

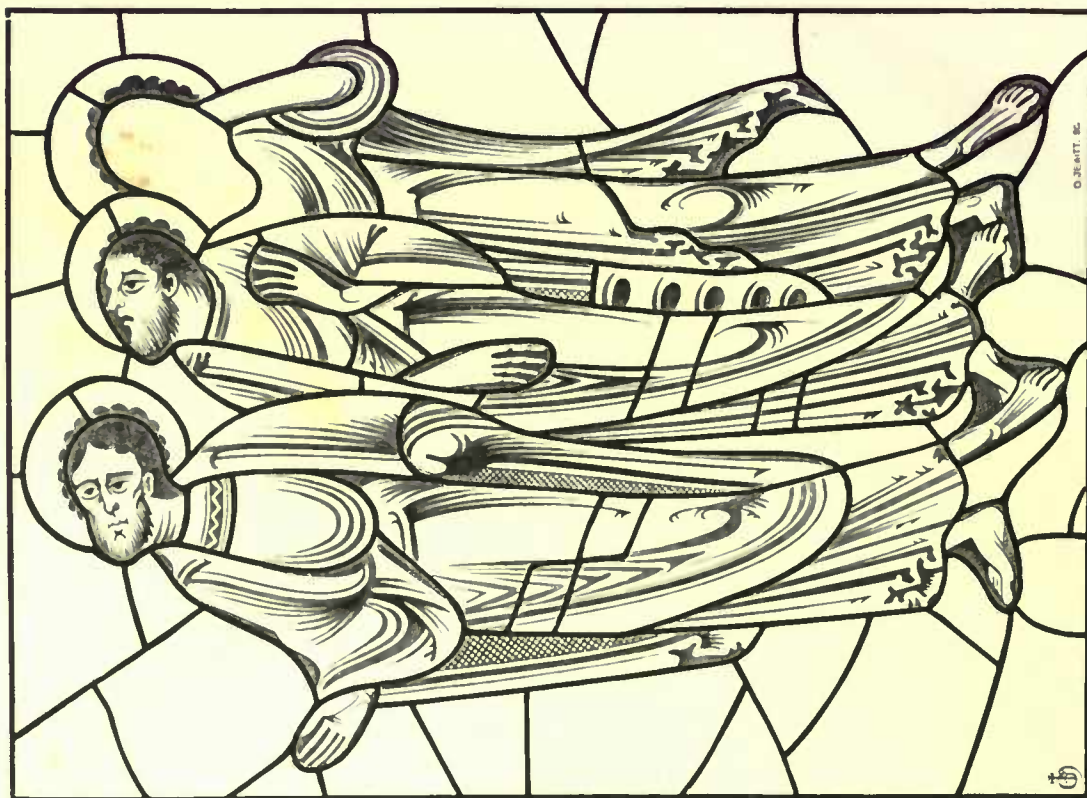
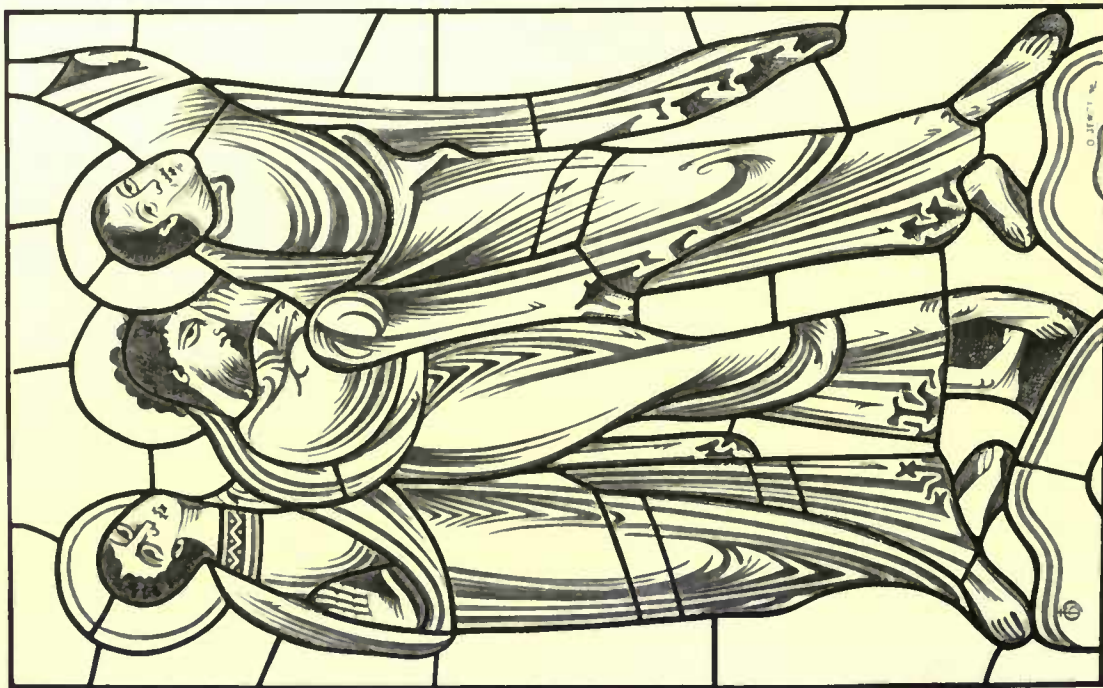
I have no further to add than that at the same time with the Ring, by the kindness of W. D. Haggard, Esq., F.S.A., I am enabled to exhibit one of the Marriage Medals of Mary and Darnley, struck at this time.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

HENRY ELLIS.







*Letter from John Henry Parker, Esq., F.S.A., to Sir Henry Ellis, upon a remarkable specimen of early Painted Glass.*

Jan. 24, 1850. DEAR SIR HENRY,—I have the honour to offer to the notice of the Society of Antiquaries an unpublished engraving of a very remarkable specimen of painted glass, which I believe to be the oldest that has hitherto been noticed, and probably unique. It was discovered by accident by the late Mr. Henry Gèrente, the eminent glass painter of Paris, whose loss we have lately had to deplore. He was employed by the authorities of the Cathedral of Le Mans to repair and restore some of the very beautiful glass for which that cathedral is celebrated; and, mixed up with other glass of much later date, his experienced eye detected these fragments of an earlier age, which he at once saw were of quite a different character, and pronounced them to be by far the earliest painted glass he had ever seen, and he thought of the eleventh century. His antiquarian knowledge was profound on all branches of art, more especially in that particular branch to which he had devoted his attention. His opinion is therefore entitled to consideration, and not to be lightly disregarded. He judged by the texture of the glass itself, and the character of the workmanship, and not by the style of drawing only. The drawing is, however, of a very marked and peculiar character, and agrees with the illuminations in manuscripts of the eleventh century, better than with those of any subsequent period, especially in the manner in which the folds of the drapery are represented. The peculiar attitude of the figures, all looking upwards, he accounted for by supposing that they were intended to represent the Apostles looking up into heaven, and had formed part of a group of the Ascension, of which the central figure of the Saviour is either lost, or possibly was always left to the imagination, there being many instances in ancient glass paintings of the Ascension in which the figure of the Saviour is omitted, being supposed to be enveloped in the clouds, and sometimes the feet only appear beneath the clouds. The same idea is frequently found also in ancient sculptures and wall-paintings. Mr. Gèrente, being fully satisfied of the value of his discovery, proceeded to make as careful a drawing or tracing of the full size as he could, the glass being in a very awkward situation, and difficult to get at for actual tracing. This original sketch is now in the possession of his brother, Mr. Alfred Gèrente, in his house on the Quai d'Anjou at Paris, where I have seen it, and from this, at my request, Mr. Henry Gèrente made me a reduced drawing, or rather two drawings, for there are two groups, on two wood blocks. These drawings he executed with great care and accuracy, and I put them into the hands of Mr. Jewitt to be engraved, with strong injunctions to preserve every line of the original drawing, which instructions I believe that he has scrupulously followed out. These engravings were finished a short time only before the lamented death of Mr. Gèrente, and he never wrote the memoir to accompany them, which he had promised me, or I should not have troubled you with this imperfect sketch. He had also commenced a work on *Mediæval Iron Work* for me, but that plan was cut short, with many others with which his fertile mind was stored, by the hand of Providence.

I have the honour to remain, your very obedient Servant,

J. H. PARKER.

*Note from J. Payne Collier, Esq. V.P. to the Resident Secretary, on the ancient Crosier of the Bishops of Waterford and Lismore, the property of the Duke of Devonshire, and sent by his Grace for exhibition before the Society.*

Feb. 21, 1850. This remarkable relic (Plate XVII.) has been conveyed to this country from Lismore Castle, in order that it might be submitted to the notice of our Society. It came into the possession of the Duke of Devonshire when much of his other Irish property devolved into his hands, and it has ever since been preserved with the utmost care.

Before it was brought to England, it was privately shown to various learned antiquaries in Ireland, and especially to some members of the Archaeological Society of that country; who all concurred in the opinion that it was of extreme value in connexion with Irish archæology, especially because it was ascertained by the inscriptions upon it that it was of Irish manufacture.

The material of the crosier is bronze, and it is ornamented with various studs, while within the outer case is contained a wooden staff, supposed to have been that of St. Carthag, which was inclosed in its ancient metal covering for the sake of better preservation.

Among the Irish antiquaries by whom the crosier was seen previous to its transmission to England, we may mention the distinguished names of Sir William Betham, Mr. Petrie, Mr. O'Donovan, and Dr. J. H. Todd, of Trinity College, Dublin. The latter (and we cannot name a higher authority) writing briefly upon the subject, thus expresses himself:—

“I never read any paper upon the crosier, for I found that Mr. Petrie was preparing to do what I had intended: viz., to make a collection of all the known inscriptions of a similar kind, and put them together, as they would throw light on each other. I therefore abandoned this project, not wishing to interfere with him; but I believe that he has never done anything in it since.

“Mr. O'Donovan's reading and translation of the inscriptions on the crosier is correct. The first inscription occupies the first half of the first line, the first half of the second line, and part of the second half of the second line. The second inscription begins in the second half of the first line, and is continued in the second half of the second line. Without spending time in exposing the absurdity of previous readings and translations of the inscriptions, I may mention that the true reading of the inscriptions, as given by Mr. O'Donovan, proves the crosier to have been made for Nial Mac Meic Æducain (or M'Gettigan, as the name is now written), who was Bishop of Lismore, and died in A.D. 1113. according to the annals of Inisfallen. (See Dr. Cotton's *Fasti. Eccles. Hibern.* vol. i. p. 40.)

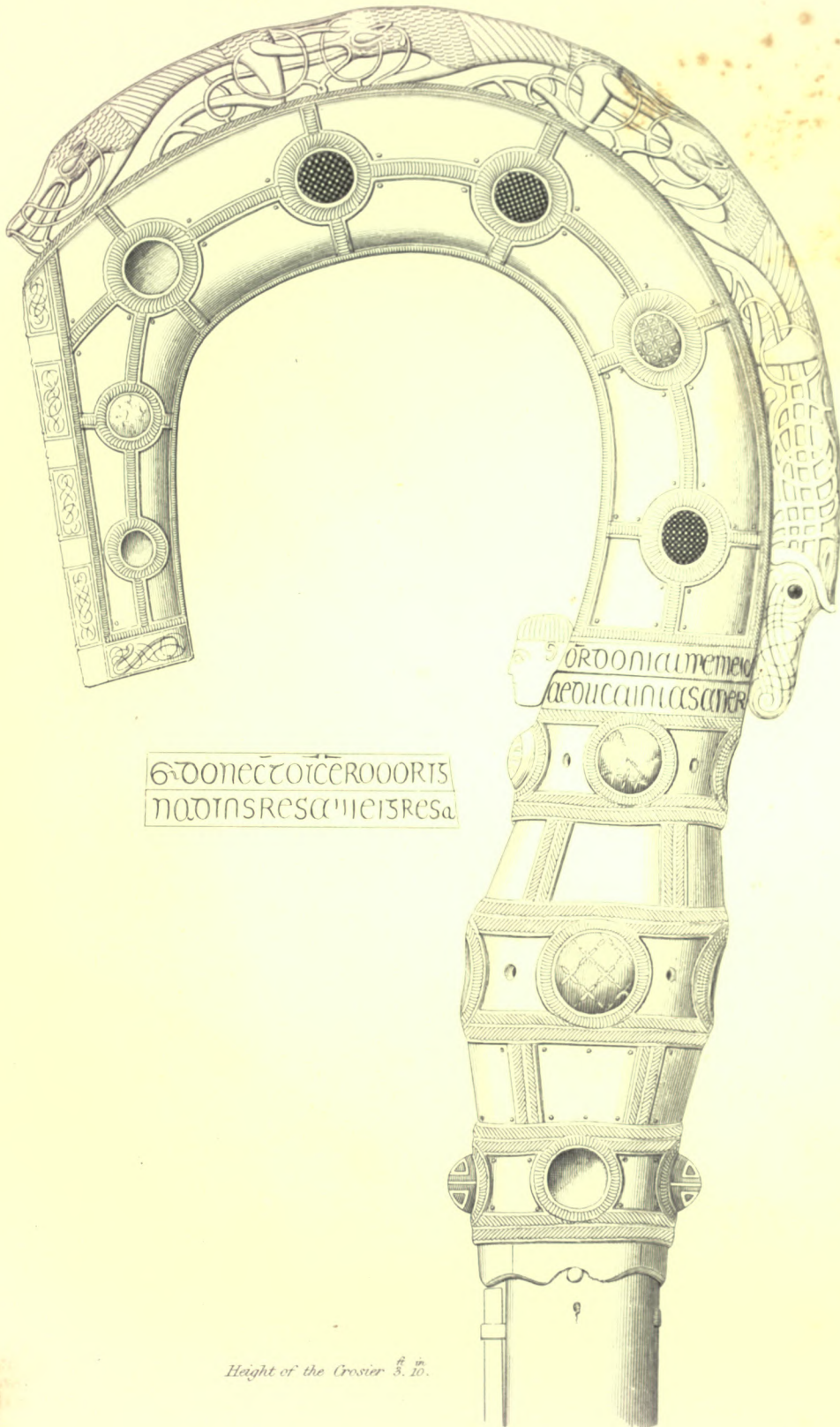
“The translation of the two inscriptions is as follows:

‘*A prayer for Nial, Mac Meic Æducain, for whom was made this precious thing.*’

‘*A prayer for Nechtain, the artist, who made this precious thing.*’

“Mac Meic Æducain signifies the son of the son of Æducain, Meic being the genitive case of Mac. Of Nechtain, the artist, I can find no mention, but the name is common in our Irish genealogy and history.





6D0NECCTOICEROOORIS  
NOOTNSRESAIIIEISRESa

Height of the Crozier  $\frac{11}{8}$  in.  
3. 10.



*Ancient Crozier of the Bishops of Waterford and Lismore.*





“These inscriptions are exceedingly interesting, as fixing the date of the particular style of art of the crosier, and thus enabling us to ascertain the age of similar articles. And I think it highly probable that the crosier contains within it the original staff of St. Carthag, which was handed down from him to his successors, and, becoming perhaps injured or worn, was covered with its present ornamental case by Bishop M’Gettigan, very early in the twelfth century.

“The inscription is also important as preserving the name of the artist, and thus proving that such things were manufactured in Ireland at that time.

“Of the history of the crosier (continues Dr. Todd) I know nothing, except that it was said to have been found built up in the wall of the castle of Lismore, where it had remained probably since the period of the Commonwealth, if not since the Reformation. The Castle of Lismore was originally the residence of the bishops of that diocese. It was alienated by Miler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashell, who held this see with Waterford *in commendam*, some time between the years 1583 and 1589, in conjunction with the Dean and Chapter, to Sir Walter Raleigh for a nominal rent. The property passed afterwards into the hands of Roger Boyle, first Earl of Cork, and from him to the Duke of Devonshire.”

A notion seems formerly to have prevailed that the crosier might be of the eighth century; but this supposition is met by the inscriptions as read by Mr. O’Donovan, and which were perhaps never before properly interpreted. At a meeting of the Archæological Institute held on the 1st of March, 1850, Mr. Westwood made some valuable remarks upon the crosier and its inscriptions; for which, see the Archæological Journal, No. XXV. p. 83. The Duke of Devonshire was of opinion that the relic would form an interesting object for exhibition at one of our evening meetings, and our Society is much indebted to his Grace for the opportunity of inspecting it.





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ERRATUM.—Page 130, line 13, transpose *le* and *la*.









